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THE WAY OF SALVATION IN THE RAMAYAN of TULASI DAS

A DISSERTATION

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OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND LITERATURE
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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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INTRODUCTORY

Tulasi's passionate cry (1), that "the worship of the Impersonal laid no hold of my heart", voiced a deep as well as a more or less widespread conscious conviction in his time. However, such a protest, in some form or other, had been expressed again and again long before his day. This protest was against the growing intellectualization of religion of which such a man as Shankaracharya, a ninth-century, South India, religious thinker, had been a very prominent protagonist and promoter (2).

This type of protest had met with a ready response from high and low alike throughout practically all the areas of Northern India in the period lying between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries of the Christian era. Its beginnings, however, lie much farther back in India's religious development. As far as present knowledge goes it is generally held that the more popular phases of this protest, when it reached the dignity of a conscious movement, spread from South India into the West and North areas.

In this protest, on behalf of the claims of the heart and of the conscious religious need which it seemed to meet, may be found the key to an understanding of the great religious awakening that swept over the northern half of this great peninsula of southern Asia during the period named.

Tulasi Das, both by means of his literary activities and his preaching of the glory and virtues of Rama, was both a sharer in and a promoter of one phase of this remarkable religious quickening. This religious development, which became so widespread and potent (3), must have met, in some large degree, deep, human needs. Otherwise its popularity and power would have been less remarkable.

In striking contrast with the knowledge (jnana-marga) "way of salvation" this type of religious development stressed the devotion (bhakti-marga) "way of salvation". In its teaching and practice utter self-surrender, to someone or other of the various incarnations of Vishnu, received great emphasis and prominence. Among the various incarnations of Vishnu those most popular are Rama and Krishna. Devotion to the one or to the other has given rise to many sects and sub-sects (4).

Rama received the devotion of Tulasi. His Ramayan (*), the proper name for which is Ramacharitamanas (5), was composed by him for purposes of propaganda. Herein is set forth a "way of salvation" in which Rama is the saviour. The way for securing this salvation is by a devotion, which is characterized by a complete self-surrender to him.

* The name for the Hindi work is written without the final "a".

1. The Aim of this Study

It is an attempt to exhibit, as best one may, in view of the many lacunae occurring in the historical data, the psychological processes, both individual and social, the social inheritance, and the general environment which, on the one hand, gave rise to a more or less conscious demand for this type of religious life and thought; and, on the other, to show how this particular type of religion served to meet this more or less clearly-realized need.

2. The Method of Approach

It may be noted from the aim, as above stated, that in pursuing this study the group life or society, rather than the literary documents that have been precipitated out of its ongoing life, will be made primary. In fact, if one would understand any document that has come down out of the past, and would seek to appraise its value in relation to the time in which it arose and hence interpret it historically, it is necessary, in so far as it may be possible, to reconstruct imaginatively the social situation or situations out of which this document came. It is obvious, however, that the imagination in undertaking such a task must be brought under the discipline of the historical data, and of a cultivated historical sense, such as discipline in the social sciences tends to create and foster.

That which has to do with the past and which is the ultimate in the life of the past is not its literary precipitates, priceless as these may be and most often are, in helping us to reconstruct the past. It is instead, the social order out of which these literary documents have come. However, this is not stated to discredit the latter. Without literary documents no sound knowledge would be available. However, if on the other hand the effort be not made to set these documents into the general environment out of which they arose, they may even become a stumbling-block to a proper understanding of their past. It is the social order of a group or of society then that must be central in any effort at a reconstruction of any part of the life of the past.

However, it must be confessed that the reconstruction imaginatively, of a social order out of which any ancient literature has come, places a heavy responsibility upon the one who would assay such a task. This is especially true when the literary sources at one's disposal are limited.

In such a task, however, the historical student obtains distinct aid from the sociologist and psychologist. From these, one may learn much that is fundamental about the nature of society and of the mutations and also the stabilizing elements of any social order. While it would be unwise to assume that society to-day is a replica of that of ancient times, yet it is true nevertheless that society fundamentally, both ancient and modern, in its more elemental aspects and characteristic impulses, particularly in group-life, has

not altered much. It is rather in the traditional material that is integrated in the life and thought of any group where the difference between ancient and modern society is most marked.

3. Fundamental Characteristics of Group-Life

In making the social order rather than literary documents primary in the study, here attempted, there are certain fundamental characteristics of group-life that call for brief notice :—

(a). Everything that has come into existence in the life of the human group is of "experiential origin". Among the many factors that are operative in producing and modifying human experience those are exceedingly powerful, which may be classed under the general term "social situation". In this connection, however, it needs to be recognized that an individual's or a group's god-world is also to be thought of as a very real part of the social situation of any human-group.

(b). All human experience, whether it be that of the individual or that of the group, is made up of customary reactions to habituated situations and of problems. These problems arise through the emergence of new situations. Reactions to customary situations may be thought of in general as the cumulative results of experience plus more or less clearly defined reflections upon that experience. These customary reactions to habituated situations are all but supreme in determining practices and standards among the particular members of any group. This is especially true wherever either, as is the case with the primitive, the individual has not yet emerged (6), or, as is the case in India, individual self-expression and initiative have for the most part been effectively crushed or held in control by the habituated and authoritative reactions of caste life (7).

(c). Need in its most elemental aspects seems to have been the primal force, which impelled to and habituated group action among primitives. The exigencies of the primitive's situation were such that very early indeed some form or other of group-activity eventuated (8). The form, their group-activity would take, would depend primarily upon the character of their geographic and climatic environment. In the growth of this group-activity each member to a greater or less extent would enter into and profit by the experiences of the others of his group. It is obvious therefore that from sources, such as these, similar reactions to similar situations would result in time in the growth of more or less clearly defined group-usages. After a lapse of time these in turn would become entrenched in the instincts and in both the momentum and in the dead weight of fixed habit. Moreover these usages would become heightened both in authority and in their momentum by means of the social pressure of the group, and also by the example of the fathers, and by the fear of displeasing the god-world powers. By means of factors, such as these, group-usages not only become growingly imperative, but in time they come also to be thought of as the right way to satisfy all

the legitimate interests of the group. In brief they are usages that have come down from the fathers. They are already operative in the life of the group in relation to habituated situations. Hence it comes to be that the right way to act in a given situation is the way in which the fathers acted in such a situation.

(d). However, no social situation ever remains the same long. Sooner or later acting just as the fathers did no longer meets adequately the demands of the new situation emerging. It is just at such a point where problems begin to arise. Hence the degree to which any group's social situation can be responded to adequately by means of its customary reactions is also the measure of its stability, and in inverse ratio the fewness of its problems. On the other hand the extent to which its customary reactions fail to meet satisfactorily the needs of the new situation, emerging in its life, is the measure of its instability, and of the problem-element in its life.

(e). Every human institution, every significant human movement, and every generally accepted idea arise out of social situations. Each does so at one or more points in the social situation where, because of some social maladjustment, attention, tension, or social irritation become focalized. Hence every human movement, of whatever sort it may be, has relations with its environment, especially with that part of its then existing social situation where are found these points of tension and friction in the group's life. Therefore, if one would seek to understand clearly and evaluate adequately any particular human movement in history, it does appear as a matter of primal importance that one should study the social situation or situations out of which that movement arose, and in particular the focal points of tension and irritation in the situation in relation to which the movement took shape. It is obvious that these focal points will vary as varies the social situation.

(f). From the previous statement it will appear obvious also that these focal points arise from different causes. These causes may be one or more of such as the following:—

1). New economic conditions. The new economic conditions may grow out of entrance into a new geographical environment. However, these new conditions may arise also from the slow and more or less unconscious acquisition of a new technique and culture through contact with one or more alien groups.

2). However, this acquisition of an alien technique and its accompanying culture may be brought about through a conscious and deliberate effort to integrate them in the group's life. In all such cases the focal points of attention, tension, and irritation tend to become the centres of greatly intensified feeling. The group tends to split up, on the one hand, into those who favour the old and wish to retain it, and, on the other, into those who favour and hence desire to promote the new.

3). Such situations as the above in a group eventuate in emotional attitudes. These gather around the focal points. These attitudes fall into at least three general classes. They may represent: first, hostility to the alien elements as they are altering the group's stabilized social situation; second, hostility to the group's outworn habituated reactions, such as are no longer competent to meet satisfactorily the needs which are arising in the presence of the changing situation; and lastly, a more or less conscious syncretism of elements, which are drawn from both the old and the new in the social situation. These elements are constructed into a more or less definite ideal social order in the mind of the group's leaders, who are promoting such a syncretism. These elements, constructed into a new whole—at least in the minds of the leaders—are deemed adequate to meet the new needs, that have resulted from the altered social situation.

(g). However, a group never becomes conscious of its own group-usages until new situations arise over against which its customary group-reactions come to be placed by way of comparison (9). Whenever a group becomes conscious of its own group-usages as over against alien group-usages in a similar situation a degree of usage-instability begins to arise. Then the group, most generally through its leaders, sets to work to establish regulations by which it seeks to guard against what it considers to be wrong and on the other hand to preserve and perpetuate that which it deems to be right.

But as soon as a group begins to be conscious of its own usages, as over against some other group-usages, its own, by contrast, take on a plus element. This plus element is a belief or a conviction regarding the value of their own group-usages as over against alien group-usages. Then, according to Sumner (10), customary group-usages are lifted to the dignity of what he calls, "group-mores". These, to quote the same author, are "ways of doing things, which are current in society, to satisfy its human needs and desires, together with the faiths, notions, codes, and standards of well-living, which adhere in those ways and have a genetic connection with them" (11). Hence to every group it appears a matter of first rank importance that its "group-mores" be maintained and perpetuated. It seeks to accomplish this purpose by a more or less elaborate ritual. The purpose of this ritual is to hold the group activities within the field of what the then-prevailing "group-mores" counts "good form". Furthermore it is out of these that a group's social institutions, its laws, and regulations arise. These generally come through selection; and this for the most part is exercised by the recognized leaders in response to some felt group-need.

(h). In general the emotional attitudes of a group become identified with those reactions which it regards as most significant in its life. It happens for the most part that these reactions are

those which are linked up with its greatest and most long continued struggles; and which meet best the group's needs and hopes in its particular situation. Whatever these particular reactions may be and whatever technique may be developed for carrying them out the emotional elements with which they become surcharged tend to exalt and idealize these reactions, and all that may have become connected therewith. In the course of time these reactions and all their technique come to form the nucleus of and the symbolism for the group's moral and religious values. The Messianic hope of the Jews is an apposite illustration of such a group-creation. It was fitted to meet their needs for salvation, and was set in the terminology of political deliverance.

(i). That which is thought of as salvation, therefore, both as to its content and its technique (the means by which the salvation is thought to be obtained), is determined in its beginnings and modified in its development by the factors, that are operative in the specific situations in which a particular "way of salvation" has its beginnings and undergoes its course of development (12). The individual as well as the group in reacting to any situation in which there is maladjustment seeks more or less consciously and deliberately to effect a release or deliverance from such. The method or technique for the securing of this release will be constructed out of elements from the experiential world of the group. Factors which are operative in shaping any "way of salvation", both as to its content and its technique, are such as the following: geographic, climatic, and economic conditions, a group's social inheritance, its contacts with alien culture, its indigenous leadership, and its god-world.

(j). The great majority of individuals in any social situation, and in any age or stage of development, are for the most part controlled by established group-usages. Such individuals live in terms of the social inheritance and hence are the great conservators and promoters of the "group-mores"(13). On the other hand the leaders are always in advance of the other members of the group. These leaders, while living in the existing group order, have set up within their minds the imaginative construct of an ideal group order. This latter is generally thought of by them in terms of the will of the deity, or god-world. By means of this ideal group order these leaders are enabled not only to turn back and criticize the existent group order in the midst of which they live. It enables them also to pursue their task with hope and courage in the presence of misunderstanding and even intense opposition, and even to the extent of enduring patiently great suffering at the hands of their group-fellows. In time these higher ideals for the group order are likely to be worked down into the common coinage of the people, and so finally become a part of the "group-mores". Wherever such leaders form a distinct literary group they are likely to be more remote from the general masses of their group than are those, such as Tulasi Das, who are primarily religious leaders.

(k). Literature, whether distinctly religious or otherwise, is not to be equated with the group life out of which it has grown. To do so is to impoverish greatly our notion of the group life out of which it has taken its beginnings and growth. This general statement holds true no matter how varied and deeply religious the literature may be. It is, as it were, even rated at its highest in relation to the ongoing movement of the group's varied life, a precipitate, a by-product, out of crises in the group's life. Sometimes these crises have arisen from forces outside the group and sometimes from within the group. In any case literature is a defensive or an expressive technique (to change the figure) which is used to meet felt needs that have arisen out of some one or more crises. Hence it follows that not all the currents, flowing in a group's life, get registered necessarily in the literary precipitates from this ongoing life. Consequently, while it is true that we ought always to be deeply appreciative of all the insights that are given us by literary materials, yet we must ever be on our guard against equating them with the life out of which they came, or of concluding, as many scholars have often done, that influences non-existent in a group's literary deposits are therefore non-existent in its life.

From considerations, such as the above, it is obvious that any notion whatsoever of salvation, both as to content and technique, has waited upon and has been determined by human needs, as these came to be experienced in specific social situations. Human needs, as experienced in specific social situations with their complex of factors, as have already been indicated, have shaped up various types of salvation. These consequently differ more or less, both as to content and technique.

It is manifest, therefore, that no just appraisal of any "way of salvation" can be made as to its function and significance in its particular situation save only as one may come to understand, as best one may, the psychological processes, the social inheritance, and the situation in general, which gave rise to the awareness of human need; and which a particular type of salvation sought to meet and satisfy.

Consequently we now turn to a consideration of the historical background out of which the bhakti attitude of mind in general arose; and which eventuated finally in a more or less clearly defined and conscious religious movement, in one specific phase of which Tulasi Das was both a sharer and a promoter.

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,, ,, Line 7, Chaupai of Doha 172, Jwala Prasad Mishra's Edition

(2). Vedanta Sutras with Shankara's Commentary, Part I. (Trans. by G. Thibaut, S. B. E., Vol. XXXIV, Intro. p. xivf)

(3). D. C. Sen, Hist., Bengali Language and Literature, pp. 400, 404, 569, 577ff., give evidence of the widespread development of Vaishnavism in Bengal.

(4). Dr. Farquhar, Primer of Hinduism (2nd. Ed.), p. 149.

(5). Book I. Chaupai of Doha 43 (Growse's Trans.).
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(6). Sumner, Folkways, p. 3

(7). Shilotri, Indo-Aryan Thought and Culture, Ch. V.
Kitch, The Origin of Subjectivity in Hindu Thought, p. 56ff.

(8). Sumner, ibid., p. 2.

(9). This is the position taken by Prof. Mead on this point in his Social Psychology lectures, University of Chicago.

(10). Sumner, ibid., p. 59.

(11). ,, ,, p. 58.

(12). This is the general position, taken by the following, in the following works: Ames, Psychology of Religious Experience; Durkheim, Elementary Forms of the Religious Life; King, The Development of Religion.

(13). Sumner, ibid., p. 46.

CHAPTER I

DETERMINING FACTORS IN INDIA'S EARLY LIFE AND THOUGHT.

It is not practicable, as must be obvious to all who give attention to the matter, to attempt to trace in even a cursory manner the general development of India's early life and thought. Yet it is clearly necessary that one should seek to set forth as clearly, as may be possible, the factors, deemed most significant, that were operative in shaping up the social inheritance and the major social habits and attitudes, such as her early life and thought reveal. Such a task will be attempted in this chapter.

It was a vigorous race—this branch of the Indo-European parent-stock that entered through the north-west passages into India by means of one, or probably more (1) waves of migration. The vigour of this branch of the Aryan race which settled in the Punjab some twenty or more centuries previous to the Christian era is clearly and frequently reflected in the Rig-Veda, which constitutes the oldest literary precipitate out of the currents of their early social order. This remains true (2) even after the generally recognized later additions (3) to this earliest literature have been deleted; and which reflect times subsequent to their early life in the Punjab.

The world in which these early Aryans lived and did their thinking was a very real world. Moreover they took a keen joy in life. They were a people who were youthful in their outlook upon life. They loved its lights and its shadows, its soma-drinking and its fighting, its chariot-racing and its cattle-lifting. In other words they possessed those characteristics of initiative, resourcefulness, and love of life which mark an individual or a race that is the possessor of an abundance of surplus energy.

Prof. Breasted (4) has characterized the civilization of this people's parent-stock as that of the Stone Age in general. Their original home was situated in the wide-stretching grassy steppes, that lie east and north-east of the Caspian Sea (5). These people were divided into many tribes. These roamed at will through the vast grass-lands. They possessed domesticated animals, such as sheep and cattle. Among domesticated animals, however, the horse seemed to be the chief one. It was used not only for riding, but also for the drawing of their rude carts. Some of these tribes, it seems, had already begun to habituate themselves to the cultivation of the soil. In this they made use of the ox to drag their plow. In this stage of development, as might be expected, their organized life as well as their tribal government was loose and inarticulate. These grass-lands

had early become "reservoirs of unsettled populations". Out of them came periodic overflows. The migration into India was doubtless the result of one or more of such overflows. However, we may not know how many generations or centuries elapsed between the time of the departure from the old home of the parent-stock and the entrance into India.

However, there can be no doubt that, as in the original home so also at the halting stages along the way in their progress toward India, their life was one that for the most part was lived in the open; and hence had become inured to a rigorous climate. Such a climate and type of life would demand qualities of endurance, mental alertness, resourcefulness, and power of initiative. Hence in such a climate and type of life the tendency would be to weed out the physical and mental weaklings; and on the other hand to enhance all the vigorous powers of body and mind.

This joy in life, to which reference has already been made, in a marked degree is reflected in the religion of the Rig-Veda. This is of great significance. The study of primitive society in general has led scholars to make the generalization that early peoples naively spread the pattern of their group-life and its general outlook over all their surroundings, both animate and inanimate, and in addition projected it also into their god-world. In the religion, reflected in the Rig-Veda, the outstanding features of nature furnished the objects of their worship. Around these their vigorous and undisciplined imaginative powers wove legends awe-inspiring rather than terrifying in character. Their worship itself was a cheerful one. It is true there is fear of the demons expressed and a desire to be free from their malignant power. Yet on the whole their attitude in worship is one of confidence rather than of fear, and of hope rather than of despair. Take moreover the picture which they have drawn of their favorite god, Indra. He is a blustering fellow; one who is able to drink barrels of soma. He has a chariot and two favorite horses; he has love affairs and is the doer of mighty deeds. If gods are made in the image of men, as many more than Rhys Davids now hold (5), then in the lineaments, which are sketched of Indra, we have the picture of the average life of the chieftains of that far-away time.

However, centuries pass and when we again meet with this vigorous race's progeny, which is now settled in kingdoms and primitive republics in the great Gangetic river-valleys, a striking change has come over their social and religious habits and attitudes toward life. Much of the old-time love of and joy in life is now gone. Now the world is illusion and life as such has become an object of disgust; and a despair with reference to it grows in the literature of the time as one passes from the later Vedas into the Brahmanas, Aranyakas, and the Upanishads. However, this outlook

on the world and human life, just described, which is largely that of the Brahman, ought not to be thought of as the only one that had a place in the times previous to the coming of the Buddha. The materials which Rhys Davids presents in his volume on "Buddhist India", especially in his chapters on Animism and the Brahman position, make it plain that a study of the Brahman literature alone is calculated to give one only a partial picture of the real situation in those times.

However, the Brahman literary deposit may be taken as fairly representative at least of not only the thinking and the social and religious attitudes of the Brahman; but also that in general it represents the attitudes of those with whom the Brahman had to do: the upper castes, who up to this period at least must have been made up almost entirely of the Aryan stock.

"There is no bliss in anything finite" (6). This is the pessimistic note sounded in more than one passage in the Chhandogya Upanishad. This work is considered generally by scholars to be one of the oldest of this type of literature. A similar strain may be noted in many of the other writings of this period. What is it that has happened to bring in such a change into the thinking and attitudes of this one-time optimistic and life-loving race? This is the problem that has long occupied the attention of scholars, working in the Indian fields of study.

Is the major determining factor in bringing about the marked change, indicated above, due to the geographic and climatic conditions which prevail in the Gangetic river-valleys? Those who are in sympathy with theories, such as those held by Ratzel and Miss Semple (7) would reply in the affirmative. Now while it must be acknowledged that climate and geography are important factors in determining the life and thinking of a people (8), especially so long as they continue in the lower stages of culture (9), yet there are people upon whom similar climatic and geographic conditions have not produced similar results (10). Hence, such factors, even when rated at their highest, as influences, determining the life and thought of a people, still remain inadequate explanations of such remarkable psychical changes in thinking and outlook (11). They in fact leave a plus element unaccounted for in such an explanation. Nevertheless in seeking to find explanation for such a great change, the importance of the altered climatic and geographic environment of the Aryans must not be overlooked. In the first place instead of mountainous areas and upland plains the Gangetic river-valleys in the Doab present almost interminable flat plains that stretch far away to the distant horizon with scarcely a modest elevation even to relieve the deadening sameness of the landscape. Then to this must be added the oppresiveness of nature with her fierce penetrating heat to which king and peasant alike must do obeisance. Then there are the torrential seasonal rains and the wind storms, before all of which

man is made to feel his helplessness and insignificance. Then again a climate such as prevails in the Gangetic river-valleys for the greater part of each year is inimical to sustained effort, whether physical or mental. Still further one may never know just how much the presence of malarious conditions in such areas and throughout India in general may have had to do with the creation and perpetuation of this distrust of and disgust with life in general. It is generally recognized that the frequent sufferer from malarial fever is one who rarely escapes having his thinking and attitudes toward life as a whole "sicklied o'er with the pale cast" of pessimism. Furthermore there is no good reason for concluding that the Doab was less malarious then than now. North India generally had much more jungle adjacent to its towns and villages (12) then than now. To this must also be added the observation that to the extent to which a people are controlled by, rather than control nature, climate and disease to that extent such influences as geography and climate are correspondingly powerful and continuously operative.

Unlike Ratzel and Semple, however, there are other scholars, who are inclined to assign to degeneracy the primal cause of this remarkable change. They hold that this results from an intermingling of races, especially in cases where the racial types are remote from each other, as is the case between the white and black races (13). However, as far as India is concerned, it is now quite generally recognized among scholars that the claim of the Brahman: that he is of pure Aryan stock is largely a fiction. The infiltration of more or less non-Aryan blood into the Aryan stock must have begun very early before caste became the rigid social system it attained to later. This condition of rigidity had been reached as early as 500 B. C. To-day practically the entire population of India's vast peninsula is hybrid (14). Yet as militating against this particular "degeneracy" theory India has never lacked great men of affairs, nor outstanding leaders in her political, intellectual, and religious life. They are scattered throughout her history from the days of Chandragupta Maurya and the Buddha down to the present.

It is evident therefore that we must look elsewhere for factors, other than geographic and climatic, to supplement these latter in explaining this remarkable phenomenon. When we turn to factors that may be classed as psychological and sociological our search is more likely to be rewarded. While it is true that these latter, as factors, have received some attention, yet it is only very recently that they have begun to receive the prominence that they deserve. This is doubtless due in part at least to the fact that the social sciences' disciplines are of very recent growth. The works of Shilotri (15) and Kitch (16) may be taken as examples of efforts to set forth psychological and sociological explanations for the above remarkable change. It would seem therefore that approaching the

problem, such as these two treatments illustrate, one may hope to find both supplementary and more adequate explanation for this strange development.

However, before seeking to trace the influences of these other determining factors, which, as it seems to the writer, have not yet received the attention they really merit in helping us toward a more adequate solution of our problem, it seems needful that at the outset an inventory be taken of certain significant elements, that were already a part of the Aryans' social inheritance before they entered India.

The first of these significant elements, which merits attention, was the social gradedness into which their life had already become divided. From comparison with the social order of the Iranians it is clear that priests, warriors, and cultivators, as distinct classes, already existed in the pre-Indian Aryan life (17). By this is meant that there already existed within the larger group life of the old parent-stock, as a part of its established and operating social mechanism, the habits and attitudes of privilege and superiority on the one hand, and of inferiority and servility on the other. How much older in origin this servile class, with its established habits and attitudes, was, we do not know. However, it is not without significance that a servile class, that had become strictly hereditary, existed among the primitive German tribes (18).

Another significant element from the pre-Indian social inheritance was the already existent group of social habits and attitudes in relation to the practice of sacrifice and to the priesthood, who were its ministrants (19). This group of social habits and attitudes already possessed all the momentum and authority such as belong with habituated reactions, that are linked up, as they were, with the social inheritance, the example of the fathers, and with the god-world powers. Furthermore from not a few intimations in the early hymns, (20), it is reasonably clear that the early experiences of the invaders in their conflicts with the earlier inhabitants were such, as not only to enhance the prestige of the priesthood, and of their belief in the power of the sacrifice to bring victory to them, but also to aid in building up a set attitude of superiority on their part toward the dark-skinned people of the land invaded. Indeed it is hard to overestimate the important part which these heightened and more sharply defined habituated reactions of superiority on the part of the Aryan invaders must have played in shaping up the later structure of India's life and thought. For example this attitude of superiority toward the conquered would soon come to be expressed in terms, phrases, regulations, social habits, social institutions, and in a whole circle of accretions to the already existing social habits and attitudes toward the priesthood and their performance of the sacrifice. All the above would come in time to express and describe more or less fixed relations on the part of conquerors to conquered (21).

Furthermore sooner or later the above social complexes would become embedded in the social inheritance; and as such would help to mould the social habits, attitudes and ideas of succeeding generations.

It would appear then that the outstanding group-habits and attitudes, and all that they would come to include as corollary to them, which were more or less deeply integrated in the social order that the Aryan tribes brought into India were two: social gradedness within the group, and the more or less fixed attitude of respect and reverence toward the priesthood and the practice of sacrifice. Then their early experiences with the aborigines in the Punjab were such that another group of social habits and attitudes, with their attendant terminology and social practice, came to be another element in their social order. All these groups of social practices and attitudes, with their accompanying terminology and the social and religious institutions, such as caste and sacrifice, were already integrated in their social order when these Aryans in their developing tribal and political life spread southward and eastward into the land of the two rivers, between the Ganges and the Jumna.

Aside then from geographic and climatic conditions to which reference has been made we look for the other powerfully operative factors in the social processes of action and reaction between individuals and groups, both in individual and in group relations.

It is generally accepted among social psychologists that if the life of the individual, which possesses vigour of mind and body, is to be kept normal and wholesome in its development, then it must be given a certain area wherein it may express its choice as well as its activity. Such an area for self-activity enables the individual not only to acquire awareness of himself as an individual and as set over against other individuals of his own or of other groups. It does more: it also enables him to build his own personality and to acquire a sense of the worth of his own self-expression in relation to the group of which he forms a part (22). The curtailment or elimination of this area wherein choice and self-activity may find expression, and secure thereby a chance for self-appraisal, issues in evil results for individual and group alike. Primitive life in general and all forms of group-life in particular where the social order is aristocratic, such as in patriarchal life, and in a despotic social or political order such as caste and absolute monarchy, there is little or no opportunity for the growth of the individual. In fact one may state that strictly speaking the individual, as a distinct personality and aware of itself as such, has little chance to emerge and grow in such social groups. For example in primitive tribal life practically the only one who had a chance to develop his individuality, as over against others in his group, or in other groups, was the medicine man or the magician. They were often one and the same individual. Hence it was the medicine man or the magician who, more often than anyone else, grew into the tribal chieftain, the king, and sometimes the exalted

position of deity. The very nature of his work, whether as medicine man or as magician, gave him the needed area for choice and self-expression. In the exercise of his duties resourcefulness and initiative would have a chance to be developed. These in the end would tend to make him the outstanding individual type in his group. The priest and the priestly order, which generally came later in tribal development than the medicine-man and the magician, not infrequently grew out of the latter.

In early primitive life practically all in the group, aside from these notable exceptions, belonged to the same dead level of sameness. They were ruled by the social habits and attitudes of the group and dared not think—if it ever occurred to them to do so—of their souls as their own, apart from their group. What was true of the tribal social group generally was also true within the narrower circle of the patriarchal family. Apart from the patriarch in the family there remained little or no field for choice or self-expression. This patriarchal family system has continued down to the present in India and is still powerful in its influences.

Furthermore, if we may trust our sources (23), the passage of the Aryans from the Punjab into the Doab was marked, among other things, by the passing of tribal organization to that of king and kingdom. Tribal organization and its rule either passed away or were taken up in a more or less modified form into the despotism of absolute monarchies (24). It is a generally recognized fact that as far as the individuals of the group are concerned the net result of despotism is to place a continual discount upon the individual and the area wherein he may exercise choice and self-expression on the one hand, and upon the other to augment the influence of the overhead authority. Under such a system the only one who has the inherent right to exercise choice and self-expression is the ruler. All beneath the ruler have no rights as such. Whatever they do enjoy is by the grace or caprice of the ruler; and may be taken from them. Consequently all groups so constituted, whether political or otherwise, have no real recognized basis for the individual to get an awareness of himself as an individual. He has no chance to experience that feeling of worth and strength that come to him when he acts in free co-operation with his group-fellows. On the contrary the despotism of all such groups teaches its units the habits and attitudes of unquestioning obedience to the authority above them.

In view of the above the system of caste is a matter deserving special attention in the light it may throw upon the problem under consideration. Reference has already been made to the set attitude of superiority of the Aryan. This ought to be regarded as a very important factor in the life of any group, whether ancient or modern. In fact it would seem that this attitude of superiority, and all that developed therefrom by the aid of priestly sanction and elaboration, may be considered as the tap-root of that complex of social habits and

attitudes which afterwards hardened into the caste system. Furthermore we may find that this social complex, called caste, and all that it has involved has been the chief psychic factor in determining the early life and thought of India. Prof. Macdonnell holds (25) that in all the main features that characterize caste the system had reached its perfection by 500 B. C. The changes that have come since, according to him, have been largely those of increasing rigidity and complexity.

According to Cooley (26) the conditions favourable to the growth of caste are three: first, striking differences among those who make up the population. These differences may be of three kinds: those due to race, those, which, apart from racial considerations, are due to immigration and conquest; and lastly those that are the outcome of "the gradual differentiation of social function within a population originally homogeneous", or the outcome of "two races of different temperament and capacity, distinct to the eye and living side by side in the same community". These "tend strongly to become castes, no matter how equal the social system may otherwise be. The difference, being hereditary, answers in its nature to the idea of caste, and the external sign serves to make it conscious and definite" (27). The second general condition favourable to growth: is a slow rate of social change. This exists wherever there is a group life that is comparatively stable; and where the conflicts and hence also the problems are few. This condition of social stability is "necessary that functions should be continuous through several generations". This is needful to get the "principle of inheritance" integrated in the group life (28). The third condition, favouring growth of caste: "is a low state of communication and enlightenment" (29). Modern life has its railways, newspapers, telegraphs and wireless. But in ancient times means of communicating knowledge and general culture were few and slow.

All the above conditions, favouring the growth of caste, were present in the early situation in India. For example, the first term, so far as now known, that was used for caste was "varna" which has reference to colour (30). This awareness of separateness from the aborigines of the land is reflected in not a few of the early hymns (31). Shilotri hints that the results might have been different if in the Aryans' early experiences in India they had met up with some of the more virile elements of the earlier inhabitants (32). However, while it is true that it might have eventuated in some kind of a compromise, yet it is hardly likely that it would have altered appreciably their early reactions to peoples so different in colour from themselves (33).

He, in this matter following Hewitt and Sewell, rather than Risley (34), favours the position that India was originally peopled by the Kols, who are supposed to be a branch of the Australian negroid type. These were in time overcome by the later-arriving

and more vigorous and more highly civilized Dravidians and hence were driven into the more undesirable and inhospitable areas of the peninsula, such for example as north-west India. It was these, Shilotri thinks, with whom the Aryan invaders came into contact first and overcame. Although the evidence may be rather slender as a basis upon which to erect the judgment that these aborigines with whom the Aryans came into conflict first were Kols, yet it is highly probable that of whatever race they were they represented the social and more uncivilized backwash of the peoples who in that early time were already in possession of the principal areas in India. This is what happened in large areas of Central India in a much later time (35). Ancient civilizations, in practically every example furnished by history, developed earliest along navigable coasts and on the banks of the lower reaches of great waterways (36). It is also true that on the other hand those groups that were ruder and less efficient were generally those occupying areas more remote from contacts with such vitalizing and enlarging experiences. Hence without committing oneself to Shilotri's position on the racial point in question, one is reasonably safe in concluding that in all probability the earlier opponents of the Aryan invaders did not represent the more vigorous or matured elements of the aborigines. Consequently both the colour difference and the consciousness of superiority would tend to sharpen up the distinctions already existing and make the invaders more keenly aware of themselves as a group set over against those who were their common enemies; and in relation to whom they had a consciousness of superiority. Therefore so long as danger and pressure from this common foe remained prominent the Aryans' attitude of superiority would naturally be focalized on the out-group, rather than upon the gradedness within their own group. It would only be as the danger from without decreased that their attention would revert naturally to their own group's social gradedness.

From prayers met with in the Rig-Veda (37) it is evident that the process of establishing supremacy over the aborigines must have been for the Aryan a long one. Such a prayer to the gods as: "May we subdue the Dasyus" (38) gives one a glimpse of a long and oftentimes a bitter struggle. The very fact that such prayers stand among those collected out from among many others, that have undoubtedly been lost, is evidence sufficient to show that for the most part it voiced a need sufficiently urgent and common among the early Aryans to be retained in the collection of hymns.

Furthermore, from the very nature of the situation, the Aryans, who invaded the Punjab, could not have been as numerous as the original inhabitants of the land with whom they came into conflict. Hence the struggle for supremacy was not without its grave dangers to the racial as well as the tribal integrity of these invading tribes. Such a long-continued tension of suspense and of conflict would not

only tend to heighten the emotional content of this new group's awareness of the colour distinction and of the superiority attitude. In addition to this it would carry such group-habits and attitudes on into the succeeding generations with all the added momentum that such a struggle would evoke; and integrate this social complex in the social structure of the generations following.

Still further a vigorous race, like a vigorous individual, thrives on opposition (39). Opposition gives it a much more distinct awareness of itself as separate from the other group or groups in all that pertains to group solidarity, such as racial characteristics, practices, and beliefs. This is particularly true in relation to that "other" group, or groups with which it has had the most bitter and long-continued struggle, in seeking to maintain its own racial identity and "place in the sun". However, on the other hand, this very opposition, both as to its character and its extent, compels the mutually conflicting groups to adjust themselves to a greater or less extent to each other in order to cope as successfully as possible with the other's opposition. Furthermore this defensive adjustment results in modifications of one kind or another within each group. There is still another fact observable in the social situation of a group thus circumstanced. It is this: that so long as the common interests of the "in" group continue in suspense or danger through opposition or conflict from without, just so long the already existing "in" social group gradedness will be held either lightly, or may even be retired into the background of the group's thinking and attitudes in the presence of the common danger from without. Practically every great struggle in the world's history has furnished examples of this generalization.

If we can trust the evidence furnished us in the older portions of the Rig-Veda, then these migratory tribes of Aryans, subsequent to their entrance into India, in their long-continued struggles with the original peoples illustrate the general truth, stated above. In fact it is not until the time of the latest book of the Rig-Veda (40), which is generally recognized by scholars now, as belonging to a period much later than the other portions, that we have an awareness of the four distinct divisions of the Indian social order, finding a place in the literature. So far as the earlier Rig-Vedic literature is concerned the only class distinction which therein finds expression is a keen and oft-repeated awareness of the Aryan as distinct from the "dasa varna" of the land (41). Such a statement as this, however, is not to be taken as implying that the other class distinctions did not exist in the Aryan "in" group, even though they may not have found expression in that time's literary precipitate. What is clear at least is: that at that time the "in" group class distinctions were not in the focus of attention. They were either retired temporarily or subsumed in the presence of the common danger from without.

It would appear then that, in all probability, this was not until these migratory tribes were already well established, both in political and cultural supremacy, over the aborigines; and which in general seems to have been the time when some of them at least have become coalesced-tribal kingdoms, and primitive republics, settled in and around what was known as Madhyadesha (42). Here we have the maturer growth and the hardening of caste into a system. This process seems to have proceeded more rapidly in these kingdoms in and around Madhyadesha than in others farther eastward (43), if we are to trust the traditions which are given to us in the Upanishadic literature. Madhyadesha seems to have become the early and chief seat of Brahmin culture (44).

When we reflect upon the second condition, which is presented by Cooley, as favourable to the growth of caste (45), we are confronted with the fact of India's long-continued isolation from extensive contacts with the rest of the world. This furnished her with the needed opportunity wherein her social order might mature itself and hence become exceedingly rigid. Macdonnell (46) holds that the distinct beginnings of caste should be placed not later than 1300 B. C. The same writer in another connection (47) states that: "the civilization of India—displays—a continuity, which has scarcely a parallel elsewhere.—No other country (with the possible exception of China) can trace its language, literature, and institutions through an uninterrupted development of more than three thousand years". Another scholar in the same volume (48) calls attention to the fact that while "successive invaders—Greeks, Parthians, Scythians, and Huns—have entered India through the north-west passages; yet all of them had either returned whence they came or were rapidly absorbed in the general population, and—have left few definite traces of their presence. With Islam it was different: its pressure from the West was more continuous, and the marked disparity in religious belief between the ancient inhabitants and these invaders produced far deeper and more lasting results". The case of Menander, the Indo-Greek king, is, however, a notable exception. He seems to have left a definite impression of some extent, both in the literature of the Buddhists (49), and in the reference made by the grammarian, Patanjali, whom it is now generally accepted, after much controversy, was a contemporary of this king (50). Patanjali refers to the sieges of two Indian cities by the "Yavans" (51). These cities have been identified (52).

With Islam, however, it was different. Its pressure from the West was more continuous and extended over a long period (53). Consequently, it was not until the Moslem invasions and their occupation of India that the latter's social and religious life and institutions became deeply disturbed. This long period of well-nigh thirty centuries in which India experienced an almost total absence of disintegrating forces from without (54), as well as a comparatively

stabilized social situation within has had marked results (55). This remarkable experience in conjunction with certain factors has resulted in making India's social order an almost impermeable "cake of custom". Ever since the days of the traditional king Janaka of Videha (56) and of the Buddha India has had its reformers and "protestants" against the rigours and fixity of this "cake of custom". But it would appear that up until modern days at least this complex of social habits and attitudes, that goes by the name of caste, has had too long and early a start. It has in consequence become too deeply embedded in India's social structure to give way entirely before any reform, whether indigenous or alien, which has as yet developed against it. Is it not almost certain that all such attempts at reforming India's social order will fail of success until such time as there is the elimination of what Cooley (57) considers the third condition, favourable to the growth of caste: "a low state of communication and enlightenment". This author makes his meaning clear in the following statement: "Caste—is the organization of the social mind on a biological principle". Caste holds that "functions should follow the line of descent instead of adjusting themselves to individual capacity and preference". From this it is clear that caste means "the subordination of reason to convenience, or freedom to order". But as a matter of fact "the ideal principle is not biological but moral; based on the spiritual gifts of the individual without regard to descent. Caste then is something which, as we may assume, will give way before this higher principle whenever the conditions are such as to permit the latter to work successfully; and this will become the case when the population is so mobilized by free training and institutions that just and orderly selection becomes practicable." —"The diffusion of intelligence, rapid communication, the mobilization of wealth by means of money, and the like, mark the ascendancy of the human mind over material and biological conditions".

This new day in India, indicated in the above statement, is already on its way. Fundamentally disentegrating forces, such as the above, are already operative in India's long-existent aristocratic social order. This may be seen in the growing effort to reconstruct it upon a democratic basis. But as for the past, there can be little room for doubt but what the "low state of communication and enlightenment" among the masses in India has been one of the most potent factors in the growth and perpetuation of caste. This same author in analyzing the mechanism of communication and enlightenment finds four factors that facilitate and promote the growth of communication and enlightenment: first, "expressiveness, or the range of ideas and feelings it is capable to carry"; second, "permanence of record, or the overcoming of the time element"; third, "swiftness, or the overcoming of space"; and lastly, "diffusion, or the accessibility of enlightenment to all classes of men"(58). All but the first of these were almost entirely lacking in India when its

characteristic social structure, i. e. caste, took shape and hardened into such amazing rigidity. Even to-day in India "expressiveness" is practically the only social technique in use among the masses for the promotion of communication and enlightenment. Hence so long as this condition may continue this complex of social habits and attitudes, known as caste, may be expected to remain as a part of India's social inheritance to be passed on from generation to generation.

There is, however, another significant factor to be considered, which must have played an important part in moulding India's early life and thought. It has to do with the inherent vigour of these Aryan tribes, to which reference has already been made (59), and the changed geographic and climatic environment into which they later came in the great Gangetic river-valleys. It was here that they matured their early characteristic culture. Their new environment brought these vigorous tribes face to face with new problems and dangers. Formerly they had lived a strenuous and largely predatory life. Now they have begun to live a characteristically settled life with its comparative ease and opulence in the hot and humid Gangetic plains. These new problems and dangers were not primarily physical. They were rather those that grew out of a social situation in which they, being the physically and intellectually vigorous people that they were, were in great danger of degenerating through the possession of political, economic, and cultural supremacy over the original inhabitants. Leisure brings not only opportunities for cultural development, but also for indolence and licentiousness. The danger of the latter course being pursued is greatly augmented among a people who live in a hot climate and who possess an abundance of vital energy. This was a new life to them. It was being lived under very different conditions from that experienced by the almost countless generations of their fathers. Moreover this change to a new environment was an exceedingly sudden one when judged in racial rather than in individual periods of time.

What would be the result of such a geographic, climatic, and social situation upon such a people, so endowed with vital energy and thus circumstanced? The raising of such a question is both necessary and important because of its bearing upon our problem. It needs to be remembered also that these Aryans, as conquerors now carried among their social habits and attitudes deeply-rooted inhibitions toward wholesome manual labour because of the presence and occupation of the servile class in their midst. Reference to the literature of this period bears ample witness to the attitude of the Aryan toward this servile class. Take for example the term "Shudra", which in time came to be applied to all in this class. The origin of the term is obscure. Zimmer (60) refers to the fact that Ptolemy (61) mentions the "Sudroi" as a people, which the former thinks may refer to the Brahui. Weber considers the term (62) as one that originally referred to a large tribe, which opposed

the Aryans. Macdonnell and Keith (63) hold that in time this term, which originally had tribal significance, came to be applied to the entire servile group. The Satapatha Brahmana, whose geographical and ethical allusions, according to Eggeling (64), point almost exclusively to the regions between the Ganges and Jumna, makes marked distinctions between the Aryan and the Shudra. It states (65) that the "all" people does not include the Shudras. Furthermore the Aitareya Brahmana in giving an account of the castes (66) mentions the Shudra as "the servant of another". He may be expelled or slain, according to the will of his Aryan master. From another Brahmana (67) we learn that while a Shudra might be prosperous and the possessor of many cows (which means that there were such among the servile class) yet he could never be other than a servant. This is psychological evidence that there were those who were aspiring to rise above the servile class. His work—we are told, was that of washing the feet of his superiors. In the Dharma Sutras, which belong to a somewhat later period (68), not only are similar statements to be found, but in addition it is stated (69) that a Shudra may be insulted with impunity. But should a Shudra insult one of the higher castes, he is to be punished by having that member cut off by which he offended (70). Statements such as these reveal the extent to which the Aryan group-habits and attitudes of superiority have become rigid and have separated them from the servile class; and in consequence made it practically impossible for the Aryan, if he is to keep social status with his group, to engage in toil similar to that of the Shudra. This growing servile class, the members of which could be either expelled from service or slain at will, and who in the presence of the Aryan (71) had no rights either of property or of life, would tend to make the life of the Aryan one of leisure. But ease and leisure bring opportunities for higher service and culture to those only who are possessed of high ideals of life and service. To all others ease and leisure bring swift and insidious tendencies toward social, mental, and religious degeneracy. These tendencies would be greatly accentuated by the climatic conditions of the Gangetic river-valleys.

When judged in terms of racial-life this change of the Aryans from temperate to tropical life conditions was sudden. Can man become acclimated to a radically different climate from that in which his race developed? The answer to such a question is as yet difficult. Adequate data is still unavailable. There are scholars, however, on both sides of this question (72). In any case, however, the problem turns very largely upon the question as to the manner of life lived in the alien climatic environment as to what the outcome will be (73).

This new climatic, geographic, and social environment would create new points of attention, tension, and conflict in their social situation. Old habituated reactions would no longer function adequately in the altered environment. As a result and in the

process of trial and error, which would be an element in the struggle after "equilibration" in the new situation, many excesses and abnormalities would develop naturally out of the inhibitions to and the excessive accelerations of the normal flow of the vital energy, which such a situation would create. A radically different social situation in a hot climate leads individuals as well as groups very frequently to exhibit surprising and unsuspected impulses and reactions. More extended attention will be given to important results, arising out of the tensions and conflicts of this new situation, in the chapter which follows. Here we are concerned primarily with emphasizing the fact that this is a significant factor in determining India's early life and thought, which ought not to be overlooked, even though we may lack full data to appraise adequately the full measure of its influence.

However, before concluding this chapter it is necessary to refer to certain more or less closely related notions, that come into prominence in this period, but whose origins are difficult to trace. These notions begin in this period under review to make their appearance in the literature. Here again, however, we must guard against concluding, as some would, that their first appearance in literature is necessarily contemporaneous with their first appearance in the social inheritance.

The first of these notions that deserves notice is fate. This notion is both early and widespread in the world (74). In India it became elaborated early into the "karma" doctrine. Oldenberg thinks that the germ of the karma notion may be much older than its appearance in Indian literature (75).

The notion of transmigration also comes into prominence early. Macdonnell (76) holds that this notion, in the rough at least, in all probability came over from the social inheritance of the early inhabitants of India. In any case we are at least safe in holding that the ground-plan of this notion as well as that of karma was already implicit in the traditional material of that time. It took only the growing sense of human need in conflict, or problem-situations to sharpen up and elaborate these notions as explanations to enable man either to control or to seek "equilibration" with situations in which he came to feel the tragedies and inequalities of his present life. For example, a flood that would suddenly sweep away a man's house and property, a cyclonic storm, or a destructive fire that might rob him of all that he possesses would make him feel his impotence in the presence of a resistless force or power. This would awaken in him the conscious need for some explanatory technique to enable him to consciously adjust himself to his altered situation.

Karma and transmigration and their circle of related notions would be greatly heightened as explanatory technique in explaining the presence of the caste system and in the mind of the reflective as justification for its existence. It is probable that the karma and

transmigration notions with their co-relates are more deeply embedded in the social inheritance of all classes of the Hindu people than is the case with any other notion. This would go to show that in the caste-system situation in India these notions as explanatory-technique in justifying why conditions are as they are have functioned more serviceably than any other explanation-technique in enabling the Hindu to attain conscious adjustment with his world as he knows it. Furthermore it is highly probable that this explanation-technique will continue to function thus until the conviction begins to be general that this whole caste-world is not a divine institution but rather a fiction of the imagination. The fact that this circle of karma-transmigration notions has functioned more or less serviceably in enabling the reflective Hindu to make conscious adjustment with his caste-world situation is the reason why it has been so powerful in moulding India's social habits, attitudes and ideas. Hence it must be rated as one of the determining factors in her early life and thought.

Another factor that should receive attention in this chapter is the early and long continued struggle between the Brahman and the warrior classes for supremacy: a struggle in which the former finally won. Reflections of this struggle are to be found in the literature of this time (77). In fact this struggle helps to give the setting and significance to not a little of the early literature and life. At the outset, as may be seen from the Rig-Veda, the priest and the warrior seem to hold positions of equal importance in the group. How does it come about that this equality does not continue ? We may find the answer in the initial prestige which the priest possessed in the early life in India. He was the one who came in time to have the exclusive right of presiding at the sacrifice. It was he who knew the ritual prayer, and who was looked upon as the indispensable adjunct to the sacrifice (78). Hence he held within his grasp not only the possibility of establishing his supremacy over the warrior, but also of so embroiling the latter with the people as to ruin him (79). The early hymns reveal a situation in which the priest is sufficiently powerful that he does not hesitate to remind king as well as warrior that their benefactions ought to be liberal (80). In the event that such were not forthcoming the priest did not hesitate to threaten (81). This would indicate that even in Vedic times among some of the Aryan groups at least the priest had established his ascendancy over the warrior class. However, such an ascendancy, in so far as it may have become integrated in the social habits and attitudes of those early Aryan groups, was not established in a day. This position of ascendancy, Oldenberg holds (82), was not possessed by the Brahman in the earlier ritual. It came to him later.

The tribal chieftain, often hereditary though often elected and out of whom grew the king in later times, was for the most

part the outgrowth of the patriarchal family. Sometimes, however, he was the outgrowth of the medicine-man. But whether he evolved from the latter or the former, originally he was both chieftain and priest. However, as the tribe grew he was not infrequently absent on some campaign. Out of this arose the necessity for someone to act in his stead at the time of sacrifice. The one chosen for this function became known as the "purohita" i. e. domestic chaplain (83). It would appear that from the beginning this functionary, similar to the Brahman, was the general supervisor of the sacrifice. For example, Vasishtha was purohita as well as Brahman (84). It is clear that the Brahman was often the purohita (85). It was quite natural that this should become true when once the position of the Brahman at the sacrifice became the most important one, as it did in the time of the later ritual.

In time a purohita came to be considered as an absolutely necessary functionary for a chieftain or king. In the Aitareya Brahmana (86), which is generally considered as one of the later literary products of the Brahmana period, it is stated that unless a king has a purohita the gods will not accept his offerings. Sacrifices were offered on the eve of a battle, or on other special occasions. These all were for the good fortune of the king and through him for the welfare of the people also. All such occasions tended to bring the purohita prominently before the people. It would tend also to enhance in his own estimation his importance, alike to king and people. It would beget in him an attitude of superiority towards others in the group, as being the one who had access to the god-world, which, except through him, was closed to all others. The awareness of possessing this unique technique of intercourse with and control over the god-world would enable the purohita to set himself over against king as well as people with a fixed attitude of superiority. This would become increasingly true as the technique of sacrifice became more complex and specialized.

In time such a class would acquire a recognized monopoly alike of the sacred learning and of the all-powerful sacrifice. The increasing conflict-situations between the priestly and warrior classes would tend, in view of the prestige already in the hands of the former, to shape up the whole of the group's social habits and attitudes as well as the ideas in the social inheritance to the advantage of the former rather than of the latter. And, if we may trust our literary sources both for the earlier and the later periods, this is just what did happen.

The available literature affords us glimpses of this struggle in its various stages (87). Both Jainism and Buddhism were primarily protests against the growing power of Brahmanism and its culture. These movements take their beginnings from among

the warrior class ; and as such they form a part of the mighty struggle, which did not really end in any large or true sense until we reach the Gupta period in the fourth century A. D. This period not only marks the decadence of Buddhism in India, but it also registers the revival and re-establishment of the Brahman prestige on a basis so firm that even down to the present it can hardly be said to have been seriously shaken. This period is also the time when, according to Macdonnell (88), the caste system has reached the condition of mature rigidity. It is the time when the Hindu system in general may be said to have become matured. All that follows may be thought of quite correctly as almost pre-determined developments from one or more of the several factors under discussion in this chapter. The writer has chosen this period to mark the lower limit of India's early life and thought.

There are two other important developments, which fall within this period: namely, the rise and growth of asceticism as a way of life, and the development of the Brahman-Atman speculation. However the discussion of these remaining determining factors is reserved for the chapter following. Although these two particular complexes of social habits, attitudes, and ideas became integrated in the social inheritance of the Aryans during the Brahmanic and Upanishadic periods, yet in their later development they carry us beyond the lower time limit, indicated above as marking the boundary of India's early characteristic life and thought development. And in addition they are of such importance as factors, which arose out of the social situation created by the life in the Doab, that for the purposes of our study they merit a more detailed discussion. Therefore these also are to be carried in mind as determining factors.

In concluding this chapter reference may be made briefly to the factors, already discussed, as constituting the major determining influences, which gave India's early life and thought her characteristic bent. We have in the first place a virile race, possessing an abundance of vital energy, and having also a social gradedness within its group-life with their related social habits, attitudes and ideas of superiority on the one hand, and of inferiority on the other as a part of their social inheritance and operative in their tribal intercourse. Their contacts with the dark-skinned aborigines were such as to sharpen up and give deeper emotional content to the social habits, attitudes and ideas of superiority. As conquerors they settled in the Gangetic river-valleys where the increasing rigidity of caste and the social inhibitions they engendered prevented the outflow of their vital energy through such wholesome channels as physical toil. Living thus new social situations would arise, which would evoke new problems whose solution could not be effected by the old customary reactions. This whole situation would tend to create and perpetuate individual as well as social

conflict-situations, tensions and irritations which would carry increasing emotional-content, and which would issue in a desire for release from such strains and irritations.

Is it surprising, therefore, that we should find growing up "pari passu" a new set of social habits, attitudes and ideas, such as we find in the development of asceticism as a way of life, and in its corollary in the field of thought: the Brahman-Atman speculation ?

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CHAPTER II

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ASCETICISM AND THE BRAHMAN-ATMAN SPECULATION

Reference has already been made to the fact that the extent to which the area is curtailed within which an individual has opportunity for self-expression to that extent unwholesome results follow. It was also noted, moreover, that after the Aryans entered India, especially after they settled as conquerors in the Doab, their social order, with its rapidly crystallizing caste habits, attitudes, notions, and beliefs, was such as to promote these very unwholesome results, which effected adversely both the individual and the groups.

Furthermore, when the area for individual self-expression is greatly narrowed the feeling-content of the remaining individual self-expression-activities is correspondingly augmented (1). A more or less fixed-complex of social habits, attitudes and ideas, such as caste represents, takes care almost automatically of wide areas of each individual's activities. This reduces correspondingly those areas wherein the individual is left free for self-expression. Hence, sooner or later such a situation is bound to create in individuals, so circumstanced, a more or less consciously and impulsively-felt hinderance to the desire for release in larger self-expression. Inhibitions, such as these which are imposed from without, become suffused with feeling-tone and create a "dammed-up" feeling. This latter, should it become too intense, is likely to break forth with a momentum proportional to the tenseness of the feeling-tone, evoked by these inhibitions. The momentum of such a feeling-tone when it does find expression, especially when inhibitions, such as indicated, are widely felt in a group, will for its release either break new channels in the social habits and attitudes of a group, or, what is more likely, modify or reconstruct those already operative in the group's life. Out of such situations in a group popular movements arise.

What gave rise to the ascetic way of life ? It came into the foreground during the period referred to in the previous chapter. If we may trust our literary sources, which are held to reflect conditions in this period, the ascetic way of life must be classed as a popular religious movement. Jacobi considers that as early as the eighth century B. C. asceticism as a way of life had received a recognized place in the life of the Aryan groups. Otherwise the laws laid down to regulate this type of life have no meaning.

Furthermore one may dip into the stream of early Buddhist literature at almost any point and find evidence that those who entered this ascetic way of life were drawn from all classes. Many women also were numbered among those who became ascetics.

Contemporaneous with this ascetic development is another : the Brahman-Atman speculation. Oldenberg refers to this fact when he states (2) that "the doctrine of the Eternal One and the origin of the monastic life in India are simultaneous".

This chapter will concern itself with tracing in outline, as best one may, the origins and the salient features of these two developments with a view to showing their relations to the later ascendancy of the bhakti development as a way of salvation, which later met a religious need unsupplied by the ascetic way of life and its related thought-development.

A recent writer (3) has made the apt observation that "the whole ascetic ideal is a judgment of pessimism passed upon the world of physical reality, from which ascetic practices are to secure deliverance". A study of asceticism (4), while it makes one aware that much investigation especially in the field of the psycho-pathological remains to be done, yet sets forth certain broad facts plainly: namely, that the origins, the meaning-content, and the technique of asceticism are varied. Its origins may be pathological, representing a perversion of one or more of the primary instincts. Its meaning-content may be disciplinary with a view merely to spiritual conquest. But it may represent also a distinctly pessimistic attitude towards life. The technique of its practice may have had originally no relation to asceticism. Its primary relationship may have been with climate, such as the wearing of sandals. But such a practice upon being transferred to a cold climate becomes a technique of asceticism. Thus it has transpired that survivals and primitive customs have again and again become the highly developed technique and symbolism of the ascetic way of life.

While it is true that varied motives and meaning-contents have been operative in the development of asceticism in India also, yet it can scarcely be gainsaid that a pessimistic attitude towards life is the tap-root of its ascetic development.

The early Vedic religion, as already noted, was neither gloomy nor ascetic in its tendencies. With the exception of the hymns of the tenth book of the Rig-Veda, which scholars acknowledge belongs to a much later religious development, they all exhibit a keen delight in the beauties of nature, with its sublimity and pathos. Moreover the motive operating in its many sacrifices is primarily a desire to possess the good things of life. They contain no taint of melancholy or pessimism. However, one ought not therefore to conclude that ascetic habits, attitudes and ideas were unknown to the early Aryan communities.

It is in the tenth book where the ascetic tendency begins to manifest itself (5). Again when one turns to the Atharva-Veda a spirit very different from that of the Rig is dominant therein. Its spirit is one of gloom and pessimism.

The word "tapas" is the one which came to be applied in particular to religious penance, austerity and devotion. It is only in the tenth book where this term comes into prominence. In the Creation Myth, for example (6), it is stated that it was through the power of "tapas" that the Primal Being began to create. Again it was by "tapas" that Indra gained possession of heaven (7). Mortals also win heaven by the practice of "tapas" (8). In the early use of this term it seems to imply warmth or heat. In the passages referred to this seems to be the meaning that is prominent. Then it came to mean the heat or fervour of devotion (9). Lastly we have it signifying the familiar idea of austerity or self-mortification. In the Atharva-Veda this term is still more prominent. Here this practice is supposed to give one advantage with the gods and power to bring about the fulfilment of one's desires (10). By the power of austerities the Vedic student "goes at once from the eastern to the northern ocean" (11). Even the gods are under obligation to practice austerities (12). In this Veda the austerities practised are with a view to the acquisition of magical powers.

The evidence presented above is sufficient to prove both the prominence and the wide prevalence of this type of religious life during the period under consideration. One may now inquire more specifically as to what were the major factors, operating in the total situation, which brought this way of life into the foreground of the religious thinking and life of the time? Its prominence and wide prevalence furnish evidence sufficiently conclusive to prove that this ascetic way of life must have met more or less successfully some felt-need in the life of that time. This remains true even though one may recognize, as one ought, that once any complex of social habits and attitudes becomes integrated in a group's life it becomes augmented in no small measure through factors, such as suggestibility and imitation. These operate in all stages of human development (13). From what source or sources did this way of life get the ground-pattern that served as the basis for its beginnings and later development? As yet we do not have available data sufficient to enable us to determine just how long previous to the Buddhist and Jain religious developments this type of religious life became aware of itself as something set over against and more or less consciously separate from the existent group-life. However, the recent researches of Jacobi have made it plain that asceticism was a prominent feature of Aryan communities some centuries at least before the days of the Buddha. The early groups of ascetics, who severed the ties

that bound them to home-life, prepared the way for the monasticism of the Buddhists. In the time of the Buddha asceticism was such a prevalent, well-established, and recognized type of religious life that rulers and people alike made provision for the needs of such (14). Such facts presuppose an extended development, even though the available data give one but intermittent glimpses of its growth.

This social complex of habits, attitudes and beliefs, both as to its structure or technique and as to its content was certainly not created " out of whole cloth ". Channels of some sort or other must have been ready to hand and operative in the group's life. These would serve as means to take care of the emotional discharge of tensions and to give the start and "set" to this way of life, which served as a release or a way of salvation to some deep and widely prevalent tensions in the life of that time. This is an indubitable fact. Otherwise such a widely prevalent phenomenon in a group is inexplicable. In the large then one may be certain that the ascetic development represents a reaction in relation to some one or more factors that were operating in the then total social situation.

What were these ? One would be overbold to assume that all could be indicated and given their proper, proportional appraisal in that far away time. All that can reasonably be expected is a delineation of the most probable major factors. In seeking to deal with these, which seem to have been fundamental in the growth of the ascetic way of life, it will prove serviceable to differentiate as far as may be possible, between the technique and the meaning-content of this type of religious practice and thought.

From whence came the technique of Indian asceticism? It is well to state that what one is concerned with here is the *initial* technique which enabled the ascetic to become conscious of a new way of life as set over against the existent group-life. It is clear that once this new social complex of habits and attitudes with their attendant ideas and beliefs becomes operative in a group there enters into it the elaboration, modification and refinement of the original technique. This comes through such as : the trial and error process, or accretions, these latter taking place through new members and through contacts with other groups, possessing divergent practices. All such are operative from the very beginning. As a matter of fact such an activity gets started at first more or less unconsciously. One has the experience and later awakes to the fact that it is new. Then one begins to look around for some technique, which may be nothing more than some word used in a new way, to describe, define, or symbolize the experience through which one has just passed.

What was the ready-to-hand tool that became the technique for this way of life? This is a question difficult to answer because of the paucity of the data. However one can at least raise questions and state probabilities. Did the material for the technique of this type of religious life exist already among the aborigines, or was it provided by the practice of austerities, which was and remains a more or less clearly defined characteristic of religious phenomena the world over (15) ? More light is required before a specific answer can be given to such a question. However, it is not improbable that some sort of ascetic development already existed among the aborigines. Theirs was a dark and gloomy type of religion, as reflected in the Atharva-Veda, and hence more likely to give rise to such a religious type of "world-flight". In case such already existed among the aboriginal peoples its power of suggestion would be by no means eliminated because of the conquerors' settled attitude of either contempt or hatred. Suggestibility operates in us all, even in relation to those whom we dislike or hold in contempt (16). The Atharva-Veda, the Brahmanas and the early Buddhist literature all reflect a background that is full of magical devices and notions, the purposes of which were to effect specific ends. Therefore while we may not be able to place our hands on specific sources for the technique of the beginnings of the asceticism that came into prominence in the period under survey, yet the evidence is sufficient that the jungle of magical devices and notions would not lack in power of suggestiveness as to the matter of technique. This is perhaps about as far as one can be explicit in the light of the present available data.

We now turn to consider the meaning-content of the ascetic notion itself. It may be thought of as a way of salvation. However, to be more explicit it does not present a unified notion as to what this type of religious life is to be a salvation from. The content of the salvation sought will be colored more or less by the experience of the individual and also by the character of the social situation out of which he has fled. In other words, while those who take up the ascetic way of life habituate themselves to a complex of habits and attitudes with their related notions and beliefs that have much in common, yet it does not follow that the content of the salvation they are seeking is necessarily a unified one.

While it may not be possible to trace all the factors which gave color and shape to the salvation-content in the ascetic way of life, yet we are safe in referring to three at least of the significant factors which gave prominence and elaboration to this type of religious life. These all were operative in the social situation during the period under survey: namely, the standardization of the Atharvan type of religion with its magical and superstitious practices and thought-world, the growing power of caste, and

lastly the sense of satiation and world-weariness which became such a marked characteristic of both the life and the thought from the time of the Atharva-Veda onward. These factors will be discussed in the above order, which may be taken in general as indicative of the order in which they emerged as potent factors in giving prominence to the ascetic religious life.

Turning now to the first major factor it may be noted that the religion which is reflected in the older portions of the Rig-Veda is aristocratic: a religion primarily for the priestly and warrior classes. But the tenth book of the Rig-Veda begins to reflect a different spirit. This becomes increasingly true in the Atharva-Veda, which as Bloomfield remarks "represents the broad current of popular religion". In this we have a great mass of crude folk-beliefs, magic, the worship of snakes and of stocks and stones. This weird religion that is reflected in the Atharva-Veda is doubtless older than that of the Rig-Veda. However the incorporation of this material in the Atharva-Veda is much later. This all represents an infiltration from the lower strata of popular thought and life and hence the religion exhibited in the Atharva-Veda is an admixture of Aryan and non-Aryan elements (17). In the Atharva-Veda the deities of the Rig-Veda are still recognized. However, in the latter they are thought of as free personal beings. Whereas in the former they have become depersonalized to such an extent as to be mere instruments in the service of the worshipper. In the above we have a world of thought that has much in common with primitivity. In the Atharva-Veda it is evident that we have a re-working of this primitive material in relation with that which has been taken from the older Veda and which has been done by the priests, interested always in maintaining their ascendancy over the minds of the people in general. This infiltration from the traditional material of the lower strata of popular practice and thought has been aptly characterized by Whitney (18). "The mantra, prayer, which in the older Veda is the instrument of devotion, is here rather the tool of superstition ; it wrings from the unwilling hands of the gods the favours which of old their goodwill to men induced them to grant, or by simple magical power obtains the fulfilment of the utterer's wishes. The most prominent feature of the Atharva-Veda is the multitude of incantations which it contains. These are pronounced either by the person, who is himself to be benefitted, or more often by the sorcerer for him". This then is a religion of magic. The sorcerer and the medicine-man are supreme. By the power of magic man can become a partaker and controller of divine power. Prayer, ritual and sacrifice all tend more and more to become not the means whereby the worshipper comes into touch with deity, who in the Rig-Veda is thought of as a free personal being. Prayer, ritual and sacrifice are themselves powers which exist alongside of deities and spirits. Hence the inevitable happens:

the deities as free personal beings drop more and more into the background, and the universe, as then thought of, becomes filled more and more with all kinds of capricious powers. These are likely to do anything against those who have offended them. They must needs be placated. The means whereby this is accomplished has no relation to ethical conduct. Among the deities of the Rig-Veda the most impressive figure is that of Varuna, the thousand-eyed, who is the upholder of law and order. However in the Atharva-Veda he recedes into the background and his place is taken by Prajapati and Indra, who are almost entirely devoid of any qualities, which could be thought of as ethical. In the Atharva-Veda tapas has also become of the nature of magic. By it great ascetics are able to control the elemental forces.

This emphasis on asceticism, found in the Atharva-Veda, whence has it come ? Is it through infiltration from the non-Aryan traditional material, or does it represent the re-working of this primitive material in the interests of the ascetic development ? It is certain that by the time of this Veda a considerable admixture of non-Aryan with Aryan blood had already taken place (19). Such would presuppose some admixture also of the non-Aryan social inheritance with that of the Aryan. Was asceticism one of the elements in that non-Aryan social inheritance which became transferred ? As yet in answer to such an inquiry we may not be able to present a matured judgment. Yet in any case once the Atharvan type of religious life became standardized in Aryan groups it would not fail to become a potent factor in promoting the ascetic development. If we may trust our sources for this period, the Atharva-Veda had some difficulty in securing recognition alongside the other Vedas. In many of the early Hindu scriptures we have only the three Vedas mentioned (20). Moreover the canonical works of the Buddhists do not mention it. Then in the second place this is just the period marked by the growing rigidity of caste. Both of these above facts would go to show that among the Aryan groups there was a considerable body of conviction deeply opposed both to the Atharvan type of religion and also to intermixture with non-Aryan elements. However, the Atharvan type won out in the struggle. There can be little doubt that the religion of the Atharva-Veda, with its universe of irresponsible and unaccountable capricious powers, became a large factor in developing the pessimistic outlook which from then onward became such an outstanding characteristic of Indian life and thought. This in turn would contribute largely to the promotion of "worldflight".

However, this very opposition to the Atharvan type on the part of elements in the Aryan groups would in turn develop separatist groups with ascetic tendencies. We now turn to a consideration of this point.

The notion of austerities and of their potency with the god-world powers, whether or not the latter be thought of as ancestors, demons, or deities, is a very old and prevalent one (21). Asceticism represents a later development when the social situation of a group gives considerable leisure and opportunity for reflection. Austerities of some sort or other is a general characteristic of all tribal life. The practice of self-discipline, and bodily laceration with a view to being saved from the wrath of the god-world powers would readily grow out of such practices as tribal initiation-ceremonies with their rigorous practices of fasting, blood-letting, and the mystic symbols, connected with the tribal ancestors or the tribal deity. Such practices with their related notions are common in the social inheritance of all early group-life.

When the Aryans entered India their form of group-life was tribal. As such it would have in its social inheritance both the technique and the notions and beliefs common to such life. The period in which the ascetic way of life came into prominence is the one marked by the coalescence of many of these tribes into kingdoms. This would involve a gradual decline and break-up of many of the old tribal practices and notions, and thereby add a deep, disturbing factor in the social habits, attitudes and ideas of groups so effected. This very process would open a wider door of opportunity for the entrance of practices and notions such as we have already noted in the Atharvan type of religious development. It would also promote the isolation of individuals and of little groups, which would be zealous for the old tribal order of life and practices, especially those around which had gathered strong emotional-tones. This is an unvarying characteristic of all times of transition. Even though we may not be able to put our finger on specific literary evidence describing this process, yet we may be sure that in such a time of transition as marked the passing of the Aryans from the Punjab into the great Gangetic areas, whence arose kingdoms which absorbed many tribes, this general characteristic such as belongs to such times exhibited itself. We need to remind ourselves again and again, lest we forget, that religious literature, no matter how extensive it may be, is never to be equated with the religious current of ongoing life out of which it at most becomes nothing more than a precipitate at points of social and religious tension and conflict. Then again we may not be in possession of all the literary precipitate of any one time. Therefore in such cases we are thrown back upon our knowledge of the fundamental characteristics of group-life and upon illustrative material drawn from literary precipitates where, in such times, the process is delineated. An admirable illustration of what happens in a group at such times is given us in the Old Testament (22). The Israelite tribes, living in Canaan, are depicted in the process of transition from a tribal to a kingdom-order of group-life. Individuals and small groups, zealous

for the old order, and in their distress over the evil days that have befallen the old tribal-order, isolate themselves and take on more or less definite ascetic characteristics, both as to technique and to notions. These all are made up naturally out of the stuff that constituted in their estimation the most significant elements of the now decaying social order of tribal life. In focussing attention upon these elements, and, in the effort to preserve them from menace or ruin, these very notions and their accompanying technique tend to become more and more elaborated and idealized. Such isolated individuals and small conservative groups with their idealized survival-technique and beliefs would tend to form nucleating centres around which an ascetic way of life would naturally take a more or less definite shape and grow. Furthermore in times marked by great national distress or tensions, caused through radical changes in the social situation, a marked characteristic of group-life is to revert to more primitive ways of religious practice and thought. An example of this is found in the reaction under Manasseh of Judah. The period under review was characterized by instability and transition. In such a time the first factor indicated above would be without doubt important in contributing to the development of asceticism.

Again this period was marked by the growing rigidity of caste, which, as indicated above, is held to be a second major factor in the promotion of such a religious type of life. While it must be granted that we lack specific descriptive literary evidence to furnish proof for the growing dominance of the crystallizing system of caste beyond such Brahman centres as in and around Madhyadesha, yet we obtain not a little light from the significant implications of certain phases of the Buddha's teaching. It may be urged by some that we have no specific literary evidence for the prevalence and growing dominance of caste in the early centres of Buddhism. What then is the meaning of the Buddha's teaching with reference to caste ? The significance of this point is not eliminated even though one should agree with Hoernle (23) and Radhakrishnan (24) that neither Jainism nor Buddhism represents a revolt against caste as such, but rather against "the caste exclusiveness of the Brahminical ascetics". Can any such teaching as the Buddha's have meaning or appropriateness save only as it registers an awareness of something already present and operative in the social situation in the midst of which the Buddha lived ? It is common knowledge among scholars that he rejected not only the Vedas but also the other sacred scriptures of the Brahmans. What would be the point in this position of his unless Brahman culture and its social exclusiveness had already become a dominating factor in the areas where he lived and taught ? In the time of the early Brahmanas Brahmans lived in Videha (25). Furthermore Eggeling

agrees with Weber (26) that the Satapatha Brahmana originated in the east of the Kuru-Panchala country. To the writer the Buddha's frequent references to caste and to the sacred scriptures of the Brahmans carries with it far-reaching implications regarding the presence and power of Brahman culture with its growing caste rigidity, the cogency of which cannot be set aside because we do not happen to have a literary precipitate to which we can turn for specific proof. Teaching on any point is never called forth until there already exists a situation or condition in society over against which the teaching is set, and from which it gets its meaning and cogency.

To the above, moreover, is to be added the significant fact that the ranks of early Buddhism were crowded with members drawn from the lower orders of society. The Buddha offered a salvation that was for all. Here again one may ask the question as to why he should emphasize such a point save as it took its significance and was set over against another type of salvation which had vogue in Brahman circles ? What does this flocking of the lower ranks into the fold of Buddhism mean unless it be a more or less articulate awareness of a social situation that existed already in the area to the eastward of Madhyadesha ? Perhaps someone may answer that it might have been economic conditions rather than the Brahman social system, that drove so many of the lower classes into the Buddhist fold. Yet in answer one may add that it is just such a social complex of habits, attitudes, and beliefs as the Brahman culture was calculated to promote which would create an increasing degradation of the economic condition of the lower classes of society. From considerations such as the above it is clear that one is dealing with a social situation, that existed in greater or less degree in the Buddha areas as well as in and around Madhyadesha, in which the caste social complex was making itself felt before as well as during the times of the Buddha.

This social complex must be rated as the second major factor in the promotion of the ascetic way of life. Asceticism was in part at least a revolt from, or a protest against the growing tyranny of caste (27). Asceticism knew no caste distinctions. Into this new type of life came members from all sections of the then existing society (28). Furthermore it is clear that the ascetic's imaginative heaven-construct knew no caste distinctions (29). Hence it is evident that to many at least, who entered this type of life, it was sought as salvation from a present social order in which there was caste into another present condition in which caste was not recognized with a view to finally entering a future heavenly-social order in which caste is unknown. The ascetic overcame the existent social order in which caste existed by a higher synthesis in which caste had no legitimate place. This advancing social complex of caste

in the social inheritance was undoubtedly one of the major sources of the deep-felt need which drove so many into this way of life. Otherwise large sections of society of every grade would not have found such representation therein.

However, it is one thing to forsake the established social order and enter the ascetic way of life. It is quite another to "sublimate" (30), or eliminate that in the human which inheres in the instincts and impulses. "For five and twenty years since I came forth not for one moment could my heart attain the blessedness of calm serenity. No peace I found. My every thought was soaked in the fell drug of sense-desire" (31). This must have described the experience of very many indeed, especially those who were still young, who became ascetics.

Although multitudes of ascetic novitiates must have experienced a real sense of joyous release when they came into this new type of life with its larger freedom, yet although they "fled the world" they carried within themselves into the "homeless life" the habits, attitudes, beliefs and memory images, which were all built into their experience while they were still "in the world". To flee from these was quite another matter. What is still more, they could not dehumanize themselves, even though many of them went a long way in that direction (32). The sense of joyous release from the worldly life is clearly and beautifully reflected in the psalms of the Buddhist monks and nuns of a later period (33). As human nature is much the same always, the sincere ascetics of the pre-Buddhistic times must also have known something of this glad release. Furthermore it is reasonable to hold that as in the case of the Buddhist nuns and monks of a later time (34), so also in the earlier days of the ascetic development, many of those who entered this type of life were those who previously had lived worldly and lascivious lives. A hot climate, indolence, the inhibitions of the caste social complex with servile and slave classes to perform all the needed manual labor (35) would open wide the door for all kinds of worldly and licentious living. Then too, even after any such had forsaken the world and entered this new way, there would still be the survivals of the old habits, registered in their nerves and memory images, their sex impulses and the instinct itself. For all such the struggle would be a greatly complicated and intensified one, even though the old life had been fled from primarily because of their satiation with and disgust for it (36).

In any case this new type of life called for a rigorous effort, generally of long duration, to control, delimit, "sublimate" and suppress the vital energies of man's body, especially those connected with sex. We do not know how true to fact Manu's statement

is (37). He states that "many thousands of Brahmans, who were chaste from their youth, have gone to heaven without continuing their race". The effort to accomplish such results developed in time a very elaborate technique as to posture, breathing, food, austerities, &c., which in India has reached the perfection of its elaboration in the Yoga system, a system of practice rather than of thinking, and the oldest in India. The above technique, for the purposes of control and elimination, was doubtless developed slowly and piece by piece in the effort to relieve the sense of irritation and tension, which the inner "urge" created in the ascetic's life. The technique which was found to be the most serviceable for the end sought would in time come into the most general currency; and would become standardized in both the earlier as well as the later and more perfected system of Yoga.

In this struggle, incident to the reduction of life and the suppression of its desires, which characterized the life of the true ascetics—there were many who were not true (38)—we pass to the consideration of the third major factor: the attitude towards life of world-weariness and satiation which also marked this period.

The arrival and settlement of the Aryan conquerors in the great and luxuriant Gangetic river-valleys would create a social situation possessing many new problems, as was briefly intimated in the preceding chapter. The old habituated social habits and attitudes would serve adequately no longer in the new home. Hence more or less acute felt-strain and the need for release or control would arise in the Aryan groups. As a result, the old social complexes would begin to disintegrate; and a more or less articulate effort after adjustment and control would be sought. The developing caste complex would act as an obstacle to the freedom of any effort after adjustment; and consequently would suffuse the growing felt-need with deepening emotional-tone. The intensity of this emotion-laden need would be indicative of the intensity with which it would flow forth whenever an avenue for release, or for a higher synthesis might chance to be opened up. The above statement ought to receive this qualification that those of the upper classes who were instrumental in the shaping up of this caste complex would not experience this sense of strain like the lower castes, who came under its restraining power. In time, however, even the creators of this caste complex would come within the sweep of its restraining power when once it became deeply fixed in the social inheritance.

However, the sense of strain, which factors like the above created, was still further complicated by geographic, economic, and climatic forces. For example in hot climates there is an early maturing of sex instinct and a greater vigour to its impulses than

in colder climes. Then to this must be added the fact that the control of a large servile and slave class and the natural fruitfulness of these great river-valleys made life easy to multitudes of the upper classes. All this would complicate greatly the total social situation. Herein are possibilities both for culture and degeneracy. If one may judge by works such as Richard Schmidt (39), which deal with India's erotic literature, both early and later, then such a situation must have meant degeneracy to very many. Here and there we get glimpses in the religious literature also which reflect such a situation (40). However, on the other hand it does not necessarily follow, as Shilotri's statement (41) would indicate, that when such people by their degenerate practices would become self-eliminative, the social habits and attitudes which their practices brought into the social inheritance would also perish with them.

In groups where degeneracy becomes prevalent there arise sooner or later social habits, and attitudes, with related notions and beliefs indicative of world-weariness and dissatisfaction towards the world and life in general. This is just the period also when karma and transmigration received their elaboration and came into prominence in the social inheritance. Did the prevalent degeneracy promote this process of elaboration and explanation, or was the development "pari passu" in which there was mutual action and reaction? While one may not be able to express a matured judgment on this point, yet it is altogether probable that this is what happened. In any case the karma and transmigration notions are such as would promote habits, attitudes, and notions which would exhibit more or less of world-weariness towards life. By the time of the Buddha both karma and transmigration with their related notions had become so deeply integrated in the social inheritance of the Aryan groups generally that they are taken for granted as valid without examination. Such notions when once they have become operative in the general social inheritance would play no small part in promoting such attitudes as are now under discusssion.

In the days of the Buddha and later there must have been thousands (42) from among the upper castes, who, satiated with lascivious living, entered one or more of the many ascetic groups. The condition could not have been much different in the near centuries previous to the Buddha because the social situation in general was similar. While the Buddha as a young man, whether nobleman or prince, may not have gone the lengths into degeneracy experienced by others, yet, if we may trust our sources for the story of his renunciation of the world (43), it is true that it was satiation that turned him from the world. When in that attitude towards life the sight of the monk, &c. must have acted with strong power of suggestion to send him forth into the "homeless life", such as many others had already done in their effort to attain salvation.

In the lives of all those who have given themselves over to lascivious practice and imagery, the latter tends to develop in those especially whose desires exceed either their opportunity or their physical power to gratify such desires. In the case of those who, after establishing such habits and imagery through lascivious living, went over into the ascetic life because of satiation and disgust with the world, they would carry with themselves into this new life not merely their sex impulses and instinct but also the memory images and the survivals of their earlier habits and attitudes. Here then would be an already-prepared inner complex or structure upon which to develop religious eroticism by the easy process of transfer and idealization. Evidence is not lacking that in the times of the Brahmanas and Upanishads such an idealization was a part of the ascetic's intellectual stock-in-trade and formed a part of his social inheritance (44).

Here then we have many satiates who have fled from the world bringing with them their habit and imagery survival-complexes. Then on the other hand we have the long, hard struggle of the ascetic who for other reasons had "fled the world". May not the struggles of both these types of ascetics to dehumanize themselves be the major sources from whence arose the strong tendency towards and later development of religious eroticism? However, one does not wish to be understood as maintaining that there were no sources of religious eroticism outside the ascetic development. The warm intimate worship of the local cults would also tend to promote such a development. But our difficulty here is the common one in the study of early Indian situations. Furthermore, until this whole field of eroticism and its relation to religion is more thoroughly investigated with scientific precision, it will not be possible to solve many problems connected therewith. Then again it is such a positively "dirty" field of study that it is rarely chosen, save by those, such as the alienists, who because of their tasks are forced to work in it.

Furthermore, this question of eroticism brings up the larger problem as to the relation of sex to religion. What part, if any, does sex play in religion? To give an extended answer to such a question would be somewhat aside from the specific task here attempted. Consequently we shall be compelled to set up a somewhat dogmatically-stated general basis upon which to work. While one may be unwilling to give as large a place to sex in religion as do some (45), especially when considering the normal and higher forms of religion rather than its abnormalities (46), or primitive types (47), yet one is compelled to recognize that both unconsciously and consciously it is a factor of large significance, especially in the aberrant types of religious experience (48).

Therefore, since sex instinct and its impulses must be reckoned with as a factor in religion, and especially in the phases to which attention is now being given, it becomes necessary to state, as best one may, the distinction between eroticism and non-eroticism in religion. To state it briefly, a working distinction such as the following may serve, and after all may be about all that can be offered at present : religious eroticism is marked by the tendency on the part of the devotee to bring some phase or other of sexual practice or imagery into the focus of attention and give it divine sanction and idealization (49). Whereas religious non-eroticism would be characterized by the reversal of such a tendency: namely, an effort to eliminate sex imagery and idealization from the focus of attention, and to retire it beyond the rim of consciousness.

We turn now to the consideration of the Brahman-Atman speculation and its development which was "pari passu" with asceticism. It possesses a striking parallel with the ascetic ideal. Both these developments undoubtedly influenced and re-enforced each other. The Brahman-Atman eventuates in an imaginative god-construct, which is devoid of all qualities (50). Brahman, instead of being a god, filled with all the attributes of perfection as Ramanuja, the great Bhakti reformer, makes him later, becomes so attenuated and reduced that he is thought of as devoid of every quality and is nothing more than pure, unqualified "being, intelligence and bliss". So also is the manner of the ascetic ideal. It also, with minor qualifications, is the reduction of life and its qualities, rather than their enhancement, so that finally the ascetic may attain to a condition in which he becomes devoid of all qualities and desires, whether good or bad (51).

What are the sources of this speculative development and in what major respects did it create a situation which gave a great impetus to the later bhakti development? In this speculation we have two ways of thinking linked together which originally were separate: namely, Brahman being the objective and Atman the subjective. It is held that these two notions arose separately. Later they were brought together as a philosophical term for the Absolute (52). This identity seems to have been set forth first in the Chhandogya Upanishad (53).

The term "Brahman" meets us early. Some carry it back to pre-Indian days and would link it up with the Iranian term "baresma" (54). When the term is accented on the first syllable it is neuter and denotes the object or the thing; and when on the ultima it is masculine and refers to the person who possesses the brahman. Even as early as the Rig-Veda it seems to have various meanings. Hence Hillebrandt (55) considers it difficult "to grasp the original meaning". Scholars differ as to what the word means.

For example, Deussen holds that it means prayer. Haug that it is derived from "brh" meaning prayer. Later it came to mean the force of nature and finally the Ultimate Reality. To Roth it is first of all the force of will directed towards the gods. Later it came to stand for a sacred formula and lastly the Absolute. Oldenberg considers that in Vedic times the most powerful person was the medicine-man, who wielded the magic spells and thereby gained whatever he wished. Then the term came to mean a magic spell. During the Brahmana period it came to mean the hymns, which were used in connection with the sacrifice. Some of these hymns may have been used for magical purposes. Then finally the term came to be used for the ultimate energy from which the world was produced. Hillebrandt considers that its fundamental meaning is neither prayer nor devotion, but rather magic. Furthermore he holds that its origins are to be sought in the circle of crude, primitive thought from which it was developed in time "into an expression for the loftiest conception formulated by Hinduism"(56).

The "Atman" term also has a long history before it becomes linked with that of the "Brahman". The stages of its meaning are even more obscure than those of the other term. The meaning of atman, as exhibited in the Upanishadic literature, however, is far removed from its more primitive usage. It has been suggested (57) that the term comes from the root "an", which means "to breathe". Ewing in his treatment of the five "Pranas" (58) shows that the five terms are all formed by prefixes, which are added to the same root from which atman is formed. In time the "pranas", as representing the various vital breaths and in form plural, come to be supplanted by the term atman, which is used in the singular. Here then we get the various "pranas" thought of as a unity under this new term. In time this came to signify the "self in contrast with that which is not self" (59). It is clear therefore from its genesis and early development that this is not a term of ritualistic or aristocratic origins. Did it take its beginnings in a freer atmosphere than prevailed in the Kuru-Panchala areas, which seem to have been the chief centre of Brahman culture during this period? In other words was it the outgrowth of Kshatriya thinking, as held by Garbe(60)? While one may admit the possibility, put forward by Bloomfield (61), that the praise of King Janaka for the superiority of his wisdom over that of the Brahmans is a piece of "camouflage", yet there are reports of experiences in which such a consideration would not have point. Moreover, both the Buddha and Mahavira came from the warrior class. However, on the other hand one hesitates, without more light first, to be as sure as Garbe is that the "Atman" speculation arises outside Brahman circles. It is clear from the Brahmanas as well as the Upanishads that the thought of the Brahmans was not a unified development. Its diversities are

many. Was the Kuru-Panchala country the only one where the Brahman culture was either dominant or strong in its influence upon and support from the court? Rhys Davids (62), using the literary sources of early Buddhism, gives us a picture of some sixteen kingdoms and republics, north of the Deccan, at or before the rise of Buddhism. Between the Brahmans attached to the different courts and even within the individual courts we have reflections of long continued struggles between different, rival groups and families (63). It would not be strange for pride or jealousy to stir such groups to the espousal and development of different schemes of thought. Such a conflict within Brahman circles is not only possible. It is even probable. Therefore until we can have more data at our disposal it does not seem wise to be as dogmatic as Garbe in affirming what still remains a problem awaiting more light. In its early relationships this "Atman" speculation seems to have marked a stage in the emergence of the individual in the group and of individual thinking. It therefore is a strange irony that in its development it should become linked with a notion, which both in its birth and history is aristocratic.

As early as the Rig-Veda the possession of Brahman was the religious property of a restricted circle. At that time it seems to represent a mysterious power which is generated by the proper and orderly performance of the sacred formulae in connection with sacrifice. Then it came to mean the power of sacrifice. In the Brahmanas the whole universe is regarded as produced from sacrifice. Hence Brahman came to be thought of as the creative principle (64) which lies behind the multiplicity of deities. This attempt to find a unity behind the multiplicity receives expression early in the Rig-Veda. It is associated with such imaginative god-constructs as Prajapati, Vishvakarma, and Purusha. These are not popular deities (65), but rather the creation of priestly speculation. This tendency to create deities is still more marked in the Brahmanas. In this latter type of literature the old polytheism is no longer as real as in the Vedas. One of these created deities which bears a particular relation to the development of the "Brahman" speculation is Brihaspati or Brahmanaspati. He is met with frequently in Vedic times and seems to be a functionary for the gods, such as the Brahman priest is on earth. He is the purohita to the gods (66). In the Satapatha Brahmana (67) Brihaspati is identified with the supreme principle, Brahman. It is in this same work where we first find the neuter Brahman exalted to the position of the Supreme principle.

In the Upanishads this thought finds still greater elaboration in the effort to discover the Absolute. In fact its leading ideas, even though not yet unified, centre around the Brahman-Atman conception. This is held to be the great Reality of the universe.

It is also the human self. Knowledge of this gives salvation. Whoever knows this becomes forever liberated from the bonds of rebirth and enters bliss.

"This passion for release and the example of these wandering ascetics stirred many other groups of men to thought and inquiry" (68). However, the de-personalized Brahman could not serve long as an object of worship. Thousands must have felt the deep religious need at this time, which Tulasi Das expressed long afterwards when he wrote in his Ramayan : "the religion of the impersonal did not satisfy me. I felt an overpowering devotion towards an incarnation of the Supreme". This rationalizing process, exhibited in this speculation under discussion, had removed the gods far from the worshipper and filled many with great uncertainties. Life cannot live long on negatives and uncertainties. Sooner or later the heart will lay hold of what it deems to be certainties. These will most likely be found represented in human feelings and thoughts. Consequently in the short verse-Upanishads, which are generally recognized as coming later than the six more important and earlier works (69), there is a distinct tendency to exalt Vishnu and Shiva, two popular deities, as symbols of Brahman. It is difficult to determine just how much this Brahman-Atman speculation moulded the life of the masses in that early time. Doubtless in time some of it worked its way down into the literary coinage of the people in general. But even so, it must have been for a long time the concern of the few (70). In any case it was in the beginning a by-product at conflict-points in a larger movement. There has been a long-continued practice among some scholars to equate this speculation with the larger phases of India's religious life. However, it belongs rather to the intellectual and priestly development, and in particular is a product of the ascetic movement.

The "Maya" notion, which in time becomes a part of the Brahman-Atman speculation, seems to be a development which belongs later than the Upanishads (71). Deussen, however, finds this notion even in the oldest Upanishads (72). But in this he is largely alone among scholars. Walleser is responsible for the advocacy of a late date. It is in the Mandukya Karika, which belongs about 500 A. D., where this notion becomes expanded into a definite philosophical "schema".

Around Shiva and Vishnu, especially the Rama and Krishna incarnations of the latter, the great bhakti way of salvation takes shape as a conscious religious development, to which attention will be given in the following chapter. It is probable that all of these deities were originally local cults. Of such village cults we get glimpses (73). However, it is only in modern times that we come to know about them in detail (74).

The worship of such cults represents the more crude, intimate, and emotional type of the masses. The Brahman and ascetic, possessing a religion becoming increasingly abstract and philosophical, might despise the village cult. Yet its worship had an intimacy, an immediacy, and a reality, which the more speculative lacked; and therefore could not render that of which the normal and simple-minded stood in need. These cults had established social and religious habits and attitudes which, when heightened and elaborated such as took place early in the case of the worship of Shiva and Vishnu, met a growing need for a warm, religious worship of a face to face symbol, or image of deity. The growingly-remote Brahman-construct was unable to meet such a need. That is: asceticism, while it furnished a release to inhibitions, created by the whole social situation against which it was a revolt. Yet in turn asceticism by its technique, which was designed to control and eliminate desire in man, was a large factor in building up sex-imagery and idealization. This, becoming emotion-laden and impulse-driven, cried out more or less un-consciously in the ascetic for a release, which absorption in the Brahman-Atman speculation could not render. This latter was too cold, remote and intangible.

This release came at last, and it came with a mighty rush, i. e. in a great religious awakening when some great worshipful object, like the Buddha (75), raised to deityhood, or some intimate and humanlike deity, like a Vishnu, could receive the outpouring of all this pent-up warmth of devotion, which tended to become erotic. This type of devotion would vary as varied the worshipper, the deity, and the social situation, with its traditional material.

Asceticism, the Brahman-Atman speculation, and a tendency towards eroticism, are now deeply rooted in the social inheritance of the Aryan groups. They continue as important factors in practically all of India's later religious development. Furthermore elements of the technique, which these types of religious development shaped up, are to be found in practically every indigenous religious development in India. The later emerging bhakti movement is a partaker in this technique. It is to a consideration of this development to which we now turn.

REFERENCE NOTES.

(1). Dewey, German Philosophy and Politics, p. 38f.

Dewey is here describing the same psychological phenomenon and shows how it has operated in the social situation in Germany. In things civil and political the German has always been "under orders" of some kind or other that curtail his freedom of self-expression. To offset this lack of opportunity for self-expression in his phenomenal world he constructs his noumenal world in which he may have all the freedom for self-expression that his soul may desire.

(2). Oldenberg, Buddha, p. 32

(3). Urquhart, Pantheism and the Value of Life, p. 245

(4). E. R. E., (II), p. 63ff.

(5). R. V., X. 127

(6). R. V., X. 129

(7). R. V., X. 167. 1

(8). R. V., X. 154.

(9). E. R. E. (II), p. 88

(10). A. V., VII. 61; Ait. Brahmana, II. 27

(11). A. V., XI. 5. 6

(12). A. V., XI. 5. 19

(13). Cooley, Human Nature and the Social Order, p. 29ff.; Ross, Social Psychology, p. 11ff.

(14). Davids, Buddhist India, pp. 141ff., 242 ; Dialogues of Buddha, I. 244; Satapatha Brahmana, XI. 3. 3. 5

(15). E. R. E., (II), p. 225ff.

(16). Cooley, ibid., p. 270f., 275ff.

(17). Farquhar, Outline of the Religious Literature of India, p. 24

(18). P. A. O. S., (III), p. 307f.

(19). A. V., V. 17. 8

(20). R. V., X. 90. 9

(21). E. R. E., (II), p. 63f.

(22). The literary material of books of Judges, I, II Sam., I, II Kings

(23). Calcutta Review, 1898, p. 320

(24). Radhakrishnan, Indian Philosophy, p. 438

(25). Sat. Brahmana, XI. 6. 2. 1; 6. 3. 1 (S. B. E. Vol. XLIV)

(26). S. B. E., (XII), p. xiii

(27). Rapson, Cambridge Hist. of India, (I), p. 150

(28). Davids, Buddhist India, p. 246f.

(29). Mahabharata, Bk. XII, Mokshadharma, Shanti Parva, Vol. II, p. 652f.

(30). The term is used to describe the transmutation of the sex impulse to other purposes than those which are purely instinctive, cf, literature of Yung, Freud, and other scholars in the field of abnormal psychology. cf. Yung: Psy. of Unconscious (Trans. by Hinckle) p. 150.

(31). Mrs. Rhys Davids, Psalms of the Sisters, XXXVIII, p. 50

(32). Davids, Buddhist India, p. 244

(33). Psalms of the Sisters and Psalms of the Brethren; Saunders, The Heart of Buddhism, XV, XXX, XXXI, XXXII

(34). Saunders, ibid., II, XV; Psa. of Sisters, LIV, p. 86

(35). Rapson, ibid., pp. 128, 134, 177

(36). Psa. of Sisters, XXXVIII

(37). Laws of Manu, V, 159, S. B. E. (XXV)

(38). Maitri Upanishad, VII. 8

(39). Richard Schmidt, Beiträge zur indischen Erotik (1902) and Liebe und Ehe im alten und modernien Indien (1904)

(40). Rapson, ibid., p. 135; Chhandogya Up., IV. 4. 2

(41). Shilotri, ibid., p. 34

(42). cf. Psalms of Sisters, Psalms of Brethren, and Saunders, Heart of Buddhism for evidence.

(43). Mahavagga, I. 19, 20 (S. B. E. (X) (ii), p. 69)

(44). Brihadaranyaka Up., VI. 4. 3, 4, 5; VI. 4. 21, 22; Chhand. Up., V. 8. 1,2; V. 9. 1, 2

(45). Ames, Psychology of Religs. Experience, pp. 33-34, 43

(46). James, Varieties of Religious Experience.

In this volume Prof. James has dealt with the abnormal types rather than the normal. When asked by the late Dr. G. B. Foster why he had confined himself to a description of the abnormal varieties, his reply was: it is more interesting!

(47). cf. Durkheim, Elementary Forms of the Religious Life

(48). cf. James, ibid.

(49). cf. (44) above

(50). Brih. Up. II. 3.6; Katha Up. VI. 12; Shvetashvatara Up. VI. 9,11

(51). E. R. E., (II), p. 91

(52). Oldenberg, Die Lehre der Upanishaden und die Anfänge des Buddhismus, 44-59

(53). Chhand. Up., III. 14. 4

(54). H. DeWitt Griswold, Brahman: a Study in the Hist. of Indian Phil. E. R. E., (II), p. 797

(55). E. R. E., (II), p. 796f.

(56). E. R. E., (II), p. 797

(57). Lecture Notes from Course in Indian Phil. by Dr. Walter Clarke

(58). Ewing, Art., Hindu Conception of Function of Breath, J.A.O.S., (1901), (XXII), p. 249ff.

(59). E. R. E., (II), p. 195

(60). Garbe, Phil. of Ancient India (Open Court), p. 57ff.

(61). Bloomfield, Religion of the Veda, p. 226f.

(62). Davids, ibid., p. 23

(63). Bloomfield, ibid., p. 185f.; Farquhar, Outline Relgs. Lit. of India, p. 53

(64). Sat. Brahmana, XI. 2. 3. 1; X. 6. 3; Chhand. Up. III. 14. 1

(65). Rapson, ibid., p. 144

(66). Oldenberg, Rel. des Veda, p. 66

(67). Sat. Brahmana, XII. 8. 3. 29

(68). Farquhar, ibid., p. 57

(69). ,, ,, pp. 55, 58

(70). ,, ,, p. 60

(71). Radhakrishnan, ibid., p. 197f.; Urquhart, ibid., 208ff.

(72). Deussen, Phil. of Upanishads, p. 4

(73). Davids, ibid , pp. 185, 210ff.

(74). W. Crooke, Popular Religion and Folklore of North India, I-IV
Tribes and Castes of the N. W. Provs., and Oudh, I, II
Russell, Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces, I-IV
Thurston and Rangachari, Castes and Tribes of Sthn. India, I-VII
Whitehead, The Village Gods of South India
Elmore, Dravidian Gods in Modern Hinduism
Briggs, The Chamars

(75). Radhakrishnan, ibid., p. 274

CHAPTER III

THE BHAKTI DEVELOPMENT : A GENERAL VIEW

In this chapter two tasks will be attempted : first to indicate more specifically than has been done in the previous one how the complex of habits, attitudes and ideas, which constituted asceticism and its by-product, i. e. religious eroticism, would in time bring about the emergence of a situation which would call for an emotional release, such as the bhakti complex of habits and attitudes toward the devotee's deity was fitted to render. Then in the second place, an effort will be made to point out some general lines of development, which seem to give us elements in the actual beginnings of bhakti, when it became actually aware of itself as something set over against other habits, attitudes, and ideas, considered religious. Once bhakti becomes aware of itself as a definite religious technique in relation to deity it soon begins to be appropriated in relation to different deities; and hence develops into a great many ramifications and modifications.

"Bhakti" is a term in Indian religious literature, which has come to stand for a certain complex of habits, attitudes, and ideas with reference to a devotee's deity. It is, in other words, a way of salvation.

Now any way of salvation, as has been noted already, has both a technique and a content. The technique is the means : let it be whatever it may. By it the salvation is brought to the one seeking it. This technique is made up out of the environment and social inheritance of the group wherein this way of salvation takes its beginnings and has its vogue. This technique may consist of material objects, mechanical devices, pictures, or words used as symbols, social or individual habits and attitudes, or anything else whatsoever that may happen to get attached to the individual or group's relations with deity.

It is obvious that although religious technique, even as a survival, holds over in an individual or group's life longer than any other kind of individual or social technique, because it possesses large emotional content through being related with the god-world. Yet even such technique tends to change, or at least to pass into desuetude through changes in the environment and social inheritance. These latter in turn are altered through the operation of factors, such as have been indicated in the Introductory section (1).

As is the case of the technique in any way of salvation so also is it in the content-element. The content of any way of salvation takes its significance and has its points of emphasis in relation to the social situation out of which it arises and in which it seeks to

serve as a response to its felt-needs. The content also of any way of salvation tends to hold over into altered social situations, because it is more or less deeply emotion-laden. This is due to its attachment to what the individual or the group prizes most highly, or considers as most essential to life. Yet even here the content also tends to change with the changing of the environment and the social inheritance.

A study of the technique and content of any religion, both as to its genesis as well as to its development, will bear out the truth of the above general observation. A study of anyone of the many religious developments in India furnishes proof as to the fundamental correctness of the above statements.

We shall first of all turn to note the technique and content of the Vedic religious development. Here the main technique of salvation is the sacrifice and all that is involved therein. This is the first religious technique that comes into prominence in the early Vedic literary remains. It is a survival from pre-Indian days. Sacrifice is a very old religious technique. However, it seems to fit fairly well the social situation in the new habitat, for the conditions of life in the Punjab do not seem to have been very different from pre-Indian days. The technique of the sacrifice is of course elaborated. This is inevitable among a growing people. Still it is the sacrifice and all that was related thereto by which contacts with the god-world were maintained, and by which the salvation sought came to the seeker, even though the practice of sacrifice in such a growing situation would lead inevitably to its elaboration and extension.

Then again the content of the salvation sought was doubtless akin to what it had been in pre-Indian days, when they cared for their cattle and fought with their tribal enemies (2). It was a this-world salvation which they sought, or, to put it in concrete terms, it was victory over their enemies, a plenty of cows, and a numerous progeny. Other elements doubtless played some part in the content of their salvation, such as deliverance from demons (3). But whenever they thought of the other world even, it was in terms of this (4). Hence their content of salvation was practically a salvation in this world. This would indicate that these things which they desired the gods to secure for them were not only difficult for them to acquire, but were also highly valued as essential to their life. The attainment of them had doubtless cost them already many a hard struggle (5). That is : their social situation was such as to give prominence to these things ; and to make them determining factors in giving color to and in shaping up the content of their salvation. If these things in their Vedic life-period had been easy of attainment it is improbable that they would ever have come into the content of their notion of salvation, unless perchance they happened

to be survivals from pre-Indian days. And this might well have been the case for the technique of sacrifice came over from that time. Yet even granting this to be true, it does not necessarily vitiate the fundamental consideration: that the social situation is a primary factor in moulding the content of a group's salvation-notion.

However, in time a different social situation eventuates when many of these tribes coalesce and enter the plains of the Ganges as conquerors. Life now is not so precarious, or fraught with such hard struggles as at first. They are now well aware of their superiority. Moreover they now have a social inheritance which tends to fix this superiority in their social habits and attitudes in relation to the aborigines. Life now begins to come easy to multitudes of the upper classes of the conquerors. Now cows and other material goods are not so difficult to obtain. However, this struggle for the material goods of life doubtless remained a pressing one to the masses. While it is true that the kings and chieftains still fought, yet here also, if we may trust what is reflected in the early Buddhist and Epic literature, a remarkable chivalry grew up among rulers, which vitiated very seriously the former crude and vigorous spirit of conquest. We have a picture of rulers, who to a surprisingly large degree acquiesced in the existing boundaries of their territories (6). In cases where it became necessary for one ruler to take over another's kingdom, he was admonished to deal gently with the deposed monarch and, if possible, place a relative of the latter upon the throne. Now while some of this literary material, such as in the Code of Manu, may represent a "counsel of perfection", yet this chivalry is not without its significance for the subject under consideration. Here then we have come upon the descendants of tribes, that struggled hard for the attainment of the material goods of life, whose progeny have reached to a suprising degree a condition where the grasp of the material things of life seems to have become equated more closely with their desires. Even though this may not represent conditions among the masses, yet among the upper classes such a condition is rather remarkable.

During the later Vedic period the ritual connected with the sacrifice became greatly elaborated. The offerings required were of milk, ghee, grain, flesh, and soma. Offerings of the three former are, comparatively speaking, unimportant. It is the two latter and the ritual connected therewith, which receive the greatest elaboration. In the case of these latter this happens early. Even in the time of the Rig-Veda this process seems to have been well advanced. (7). Indeed it would appear that the elaboration of the soma ritual may have been pre-Indian (8). And it may yet be found that this is also the case with the horse sacrifice, for the horse had long been an animal highly valued in the Aryans' pre-

Indian life. The ritual in connection with these two forms of sacrifice had grown to such proportions ; and with this growth the number of priests had increased so greatly that as many as sixteen or seventeen are named as taking part in the more important sacrifices. Such sacrifices might require a day, twelve days, a year or even more for their completion. It is obvious, therefore, that it would be only the rich nobles, or such as the king, who could undertake the expenditure involved therein. Moreover on the other hand we can picture the results this would have in the lives of many of the priests in the development of competition for the patronage of the wealthy chieftains and nobles (9), and in the ambition of many to become the purohita to a king. Hence, in its composition, the Rig-Veda, with the probable exception of the tenth book, is what one would naturally expect : an aristocratic compilation for priestly and warrior-class uses. The great mass of evidence shows that the ordinary Vedic sacrifice was performed primarily to win divine favour. Attached to this, however, was the notion that the deities to whom these sacrifices were made were under obligation to grant the request of the worshipper, since the latter used the proper technique in approaching deity. This notion grew. Deity came to be thought of as ensnared by the sacrifice (10) and therefore compelled to give help.

The Brahmanas, which belong to the later Vedic period, are really the priests' textbooks to guide them through the complicated ritual of the sacrifice. Among these texts the Aitareya and the Satapatha are the chief. In these the simple piety in relation to the gods, which we find in the early Vedic hymns is gone. Here the emphasis is upon the eternity of the Vedas, the observance of caste, the asrama life, the supremacy of the priest, who is now proclaimed as a deity on earth (11), and lastly the importance of the sacrifice. This increasing prominence, given to the sacrifice, results in exalting the priesthood. The growing elaboration and complicated procedure in the sacrificial ritual made special training necessary for the priest. It was no longer possible for the head of the family, save in the most simple household worship, to perform the duties of the sacrificial office. It was only the priest who knew the ritual of the sacrifice and its associated mysteries. Hence the priesthood became a profession.

A professional priesthood, however, works ill to priest and people alike. The simple faith in the deities, exhibited in the early Vedic hymns, has now been replaced largely by the magical mechanisms and the sacerdotalism of the Brahmanas, with their growing symbolism. Although the gods occupy nominally their customary place, yet the priest and the sacrifice of this period have robbed them of practically all of their real power. They have become little more than puppets.

Moreover signs are not wanting in this period that even the all-important sacrifice is taking on a perfunctoriness in its practice and a symbolism which indicate that it is fast becoming a survival, holding over from another social situation. The effort to adjust the sacrifice to the altered social situation in the Gangetic river-valleys took a double direction, which was, as such processes almost always are, more or less unconscious in its outworking. On the one hand, as seen in the Artharva-Veda, we have a great underworld of magical formulae, charms, devices, and mystic symbols incorporated with the ritual of sacrifice. The probable source of this social inheritance has already been discussed in the previous chapter. Then on the other hand, as seen in the Brahmanas and Upanishads, a process of symbolizing and rationalizing of the sacrifice becomes greatly extended. This development goes forward until we have world-views built up around the sacrifice and around the ritual prayer, connected with the sacrifice. These both become organizing centres for thought from which the whole universe is projected. What is this all but an effort to adjust a survival-technique to a new situation in which the priestly and other leisured classes have time to reflect upon this ancient technique; and have also an inner need for its explanation and elaboration?

But meanwhile in this same new social situation a new way of salvation, other than the sacrifice-way, was being worked out—more or less unconsciously—until it finally became recognized as a new way and was consciously set over against that in relation to which it was a more or less conscious protest and revolt. So far as we are able to judge this new way, unlike the sacrifice, was worked out in relation to this new social situation. Hence it was better fitted to meet the new tense-needs, created by the situation, than was the old; since the latter was a survival from a different social situation. Consequently, as might be expected, multitudes (12) began to walk in this new way. If their reflections upon their experience mean anything, it is clear that to many of them it was a sense of great joy and emotional release with which they entered this new way (13). This new way was that of asceticism. Its technique was not the sacrifice, but "tapas".

Here then was a way of salvation open to all, who would pay the price, which was not in terms of "filthy lucre", placed in the hands of a mercenary priest, who always wished to see the gift before performing the service. The price was in the appealing terms of devotion and a rigorous self-discipline. All, who would, might enter this way, regardless of caste. This was a democratic way in that it set no intermediary between worshipper and deity. As no one, save the priest, knew the language or the elaborate ritual of the old way, no one could get into touch

with deity save by the priest and the latter had to be satisfied first before he would undertake the task.

It is difficult for one at this distance in time and outlook to realize what a rush of pent-up feeling and what a sense of release must have come to many a sincere seeker upon the realization for the first time that each might come into contact with deity through his own efforts without any dependence upon a priest as intermediary. One needs to think oneself back deliberately into that far-away time to grasp fully what a sunburst of new light must have come to multitudes when they learned of this new way of access to deity without money and without price, save the price any sincere soul would gladly pay. Is it any marvel then that both the Brahman and the early Buddhist literature of these times reflect a situation in which there are multitudes of ascetics everywhere? It is held by some (14) that the ascetics were the pioneers in the discovery and exploration of the great forests and lands to the southward of the Vindhyas. Thither they went and established their lonely retreats and hermitages. The Epic literature is full of such stories; and there is little doubt that, after the fabulous has been pruned away, the residuum has some historical reference.

The ascetic way of salvation has a content very different from the sacrificial. It is obviously more difficult to indicate the content of the former than of the latter. An attempt was made to do this in the preceding chapter. It remains to add merely this: that since this latter way was pre-eminently an individualistically motivated way of salvation it would present greater variations in its content than the old way. Furthermore it had in it many higher and more spiritual elements than characterized sacrifice. In its beginnings the former must have drawn to itself the more sincere and spiritually-minded of the times in which it arose. Later, however, when it became a recognized part of the social order for which rulers and others made provision, it became the refuge of very different elements from society at large. Even so early as the time of the Buddha this latter stage was already far advanced.

While it is true that this new way was a difficult one, yet it had a great new freedom about it, which the old lacked. At most its difficulties were those which were created primarily by the human spirit with its own instincts, impulses, habits and attitudes. These, however, must have turned out for many to be almost insuperable. However, these difficulties were not externally-placed. Against all externally-placed obstacles the human spirit sooner or later revolts. In the old way obstacles existed, such as caste, language, and a knowledge of the elaborate sacrificial ritual. With the new this was not so.

With the incoming and growth of this new way a change comes about in the attitude towards the once all-important sacrifice. Indeed there are many who give up the old worship altogether. This new attitude finds reflection in one of the older Brahmanas (15) where ascetic practice, as a way of gaining access to deity, is given a higher place than sacrifice. However, we ought not to conclude therefore that this movement for the retirement of the technique of sacrifice was immediate, organized, or uniform in its outworking, even though it must have acquired a growingly powerful "urge". This would issue and gather momentum from the larger freedom in its contacts with deity, which this new way afforded, its freedom from the growing rigours of caste, and its deliverance from the aristocratic and mercenary spirit of the priest. Then again the emotional-tone of this momentum would become heightened from the opposition that would come from the vested rights and privileges of the priestly classes in particular, who were selfishly concerned with the performance of the aristocratic and highly-placed sacrifice and its elaborate ritual. In all this the priests' living and long-established prestige were involved and we may safely conclude that the struggle between these two ways was a long and bitter one. Here and there in the literature of this period and later we get echoes of this struggle. The priest wins finally. This is probably due to the fact that from the side of the priest it was a corporate struggle, whereas on the side of the ascetic it was largely individualistic, or at best one in which only small groups were engaged: groups which not infrequently were struggling among themselves over some point in the technique or content of asceticism. Then on the other hand the priest won because his victory was one attained through compromise in which the whole "schema" of Brahmanhood was worked out with a place alloted in it for the ascetic and his ideal. Rhys Davids, who refers to this matter (16), considers that this was not elaborated until after the rise of Buddhism. However, was this an actual victory in practice, or was it confined largely to one "on paper"? The Code of Manu would give one the impression that it was the former (17). Even if we may be convinced that the matter, as presented in the Code, is somewhat of a "counsel of perfection", yet on the other hand one must recognize, what is conceded generally, that the codification of laws is the last stage in a very long process. This also is preceded by another long period of practice which grows up out of custom and taboo. The practice may not have reached the perfection represented in the Code, and yet it is certain that there must have been more or less religious practice, which had actually incorporated into some kind of a unification both the priestly and the ascetic comp-

lexes of habits, attitudes, and notions in actual religious life preceding this codification, which in itself was doubtless a long and piecemeal process (18). One classic passage, which reflects a stage in the process of this long struggle between the sacrificial and ascetic ways of salvation, comes from the Mahabharata (19). It denounces in unsparing terms any way of approach to deity that seems to discredit or ignore the good old way of sacrifice and the priestly prestige therewith involved.

However, regarding this incorporation of the ascetic ideal within the Brahmanhood "schema" the writer does not wish to be understood as implying that some of the Brahman thinkers and other priests got together and said: "Come now, let us go to and incorporate the ascetic ideal within our own scheme of thought and practice;" though this may have happened after the process got under way in actual practice. Rhys Davids has called attention to the fact: that (20) with the incoming of the growing eclipse of the sacrifice way of salvation it introduced such a condition among Brahman groups that many sought other occupations. It is clear that once this notion and practice got into the social inheritance, then such considerations as economic factors, the mercenary spirit of the priest, and competitive conduct among the priests themselves would all add to the momentum of discredit coming to both priest and sacrifice.

Just as on the one hand the Atharva-Veda reflects a situation in which certain of the Brahman elements of the priesthood identified themselves and their old technique of sacrifice with the more popular elements (21), represented in the magical formulae, charms, &c., so on the other hand many of the more high and philosophically minded of the Brahmans went over into this ascetic movement (22). These for the most part would be the more high-minded, individualistic, and less mercenary. It was from among men of this spirit that those arose who seem to have developed a process of thinking, reflections of which are found in the Brahmanas and Upanishads, in which the sacrifice is symbolized yet more and more until, as an objective and material thing, it became completely retired. Into its place the Brahman-Atman speculation came, to which reference has been made already in the previous chapter.

Then again in this ascetic development the "tapas" and all related therewith grow in time to such a place of importance that they also take on cosmic significance. Just as in the case of the old sacrifice, when it began to take on cosmic significance, the gods themselves had to perform sacrifice in order to qualify themselves for their tasks as well as to maintain themselves in their positions in the universe, so here also the gods require to practice "tapas" for similar purposes. To what extent did these two as

world-views, the one growing out of the sacrifice and the other out of tapas, act and react upon each other in the development of each? It would be interesting to know. But we must await more light before a mature judgment can be expressed.

When this ascetic way of life got well established in the social inheritance it in turn tended to create a new situation out of which emerged new tensions and felt-needs, creating thereby emotional-tone, for which the ascetic's deity, devoid of all intimate face-to-face relations, was unable to furnish any adequate or normal release (23).

It cannot be doubted but what in some instances at least, especially in cases past middle life, the religious technique, which asceticism built up in its struggle to reduce and dehumanize life, was effective for the end sought (24). Some of the literature of this and later time would have no meaning, were this not so. Yet on the other hand the rigorous practice and marvellous feats, attributed to many of the great ascetics in this same literature (25) do but show, even though vigorous pruning away of the fabulous is generally necessary, how terrific and long-continued were many of the struggles which finally reduced life to the vanishing-point of desire.

However, this same literature reflects frequent lapses in this long struggle (26). Even the gods as well as ascetics suffer these lapses (27). Such items as these would never have found a place in this literature, were it not that they reflect what frequently occurred in the lives of the ascetics in their struggle to control and eliminate desire. They made their gods in their own image.

Whenever, in the experience of the ascetics, this reduction of life to its minimum of desire was not accomplished we have the damming up of an emotion-laden and impulsively-surcharged inner condition in the individual, which becomes ready to break forth, either when the inner tension becomes too great, or when a religious technique may be brought into service that is fitted to bring release to such an inner condition. In all such cases we would have a more or less heightened and intensified conflict-situation, created by the inner instinctive and impulsive "urge" and the outer inhibitions and rigour of ascetic practices. Out of such a situation there would certainly grow a sense of deeply felt-need leading the individual so effected to yearn more or less consciously for release, or for some new way of salvation that would bring release to this pent-up, emotional situation. The momentum with which this pent-up feeling would break forth into channels of release would be proportional to the vigour of the emotional-tone experienced.

We turn now to the consideration of the local and popular religious cults of the masses. These have in fact an intimate relation to the specific situation, created by the ascetic way of life. This ascetic way of life had aroused needs it was unable to meet and satisfy. These cults of the masses are a dominating influence in the total situation of this time in helping to meet the need, which was created and then unmet by the ascetic ideal with its intangible and distant Brahman. It is in the synthesis of elements in these popular cults, with their ready-to-hand deities with human-like qualities on the one hand; and on the other the pent-up emotional condition, the outcome of the ascetic ideal, that gave urge, power and release to sporadic religious developments. Many of these latter seem to coalesce later and find themselves in a development that gets itself defined and articulated in a complex of habits, attitudes and ideas towards deity which comes to be designated by the term "bhakti".

It would appear that the Hinayana development in Buddhism passed through a stage somewhat similar to asceticism in its evolution. Not only was its ideal ascetic, as set forth in the arhat. Its philosophy also was negative. Influential as the Hinayana was it could never become popular. Hence Hopkins could write (28) that by the second century B. C. India was already becoming indifferent to the teaching of Buddhism. It was "becoming re-absorbed into the great permanent cults of Vishnu and Shiva, with which in spirit Buddhism itself began to be amalgamated". This was especially the case with the Mahayana development. This latter was emotional and taught positive ideas with reference to the soul, its destiny and deity. In other words it was a religion to appeal to the human heart. When it took its rise it was in the period when India was again subject to successive inroads of primitive tribes. Many of these embraced Buddhism. Naturally they brought with them into their new faith the warmth, the immediacy, and the face-to-face representation of deity, so characteristic of primitive cults. However, therewith the door seems to have been opened wide for the Mahayana to become the repository of all kinds of superstitions and unassimilated accretions. In the days of Nagarjuna, whom some scholars regard as a contemporary of Kanishka (29) toward the end of the first century A. D., while others would place him about a century later (30), Brahma, Vishnu, Shiva, and Kali are recognized by this writer as proper objects of worship. It is not strange then that in time the Mahayana became practically indistinguishable from prominent phases of Hinduism, such for example as the worship of Vishnu and Shiva, for like, these the Mahayana gave a large place to bhakti. It is probable, therefore, that its approximation to the popular cults had more to do with Buddhism's disappearance from India than the generally prevalent

notion: that it was due to persecution. In describing later religious developments, in Bengal in particular, Sen (31) is led to observe that "the Buddhist masses had developed an emotional creed, which led them afterwards to accept the tenets of Vaishnavism with such cordiality".

As far as the Rig-Veda is concerned the gods of these local cults are practically non-existent. It is only in the later Vedic and early Buddhistic literary materials that one begins to get an awareness of their existence, vitality, and number (32). In the Niddesa, a Buddhist commentary to the latter portion of the Suttanipata, from which Bhandarkar (33) quotes a passage, there is a list of over twenty-five local cult deities, who are placed on the same level with the fire, moon, sun and Brahma. Among these local deities Baladeva and Vasudeva find a place. The latter in the process of evolution and elaboration becomes associated with Krishna and Vishnu. To this reference will be made later. In the Mahavastu (34), whose date is uncertain, but whose materials are held to be pre-Christian, there is a reference to sailors who call up a list of gods, some of whom appear to be local cult deities. Acquaintance with works, such as those of Davids, Crooke, Russell, Whitehead, Elmore and Briggs make one aware of the great underworld of popular religious life and practice, belonging both to early and later Indian life. The religious life of the masses, in spite of its base and crude elements, had a warmth, a face-to-face relationship and a practicality about it, which the elaborate religious technique and symbolic, speculative concepts, of both Vedic sacrificial priest and ascetic failed to supply, either to the sincere intellectual, or to the ignorant commoner. Very, very many of the earlier ascetics, it cannot be doubted, were sincere seekers after salvation. However, with most of the priests it must have been otherwise. Both the nature of their training and the character of their tasks were such as to promote in them the tendency to become low-browed and mercenary.

Hence is it not reasonable to look to the sincere element among those following the ascetic way for the probable leadership in finding the way of release from this tense emotional situation, which the technique of asceticism and its by-product built up in the struggle to control and eliminate human desire ? Then on the other hand is it not reasonable to see in the warm, face-to-face worship of deity, which characterized the local cults, the raw material out of which leaders such as the above and others would be able to construct a new religious technique as well as content for a new way of salvation that would place both of these earlier developments under tribute ? Was it not out of a synthesis of elements, such as the above, that the bhakti complex developed, and received clarification, both as to its technique and its content ? Just as has been

indicated already, such a change in technique and content must have come about more or less unconsciously in its earliest stages. First it would be an experience. Then it would get definiteness and elaboration from being set over against alien practice in respect to the attitude of the devotee to his chosen deity. This would tend to clarify the experience and give it an element of conviction.

When the way of bhakti becomes a fairly well-defined and conscious movement, such as is reflected in the Gita, its technique may be described as a complex of habits and attitudes in relation to the devotee's chosen deity, whether or not the latter may be the temporary or the permanent object of devotion. When one seeks to define this complex a little more specifically its major elements would be as follows: faith in, adoration and praise of, love for, and such devotion as leads not only to the dedication of all one's possessions, but the self-surrender even of one's body, mind and will to the behests of the chosen deity.

A description of the content of this way as it lies revealed in the Gita and in the other portions of the didactic Epic would include the following: a deliverance from illusion and from the passions of this present, evil world into a new this-world condition of life in which the devotee possesses holiness, detachment from desire and reward for all that one does, and in which one sees the Adorable everywhere and everything subsisting in him. Then finally it is a deliverance from the sorrows of rebirth in the present world ; and an entrance into the heaven of Bhagavat with all the joy this implies. However, one no sooner presents such a general statement as the above than an awareness arises that it should be modified. This need for qualification arises out of the fact that the didactic Epic presents no unified conception as to the kind of a salvation this way really offers.

As yet the earliest stages of this development lie hidden in great obscurity and confusion. Many of its problems are still in debate. This obscurity and confusion in which its beginnings are shrouded are due in part to the paucity of the available literary materials, which reflect its presence or propagate its faith in the earlier period. Then on the other hand it seems to have attained very early a widespread popularity. Apparently it met to a surprisingly large degree the deep needs of the hearts of very many for a personal deity, human-like and intimate, upon whom the deep emotions of the heart could be exercised. We shall see later, however, that to the extent this development tended to become mere emotionalism to that extent its results have become very unwholesome (35). In view, therefore, of these difficulties all that can be reasonably expected, or attempted here is to indicate some of the more ample stages in this earliest development; and state briefly therewith some of the major problems still awaiting solution.

It is natural, therefore, to turn first of all to the Vasudeva-Krishna phase of this development. It is generally recognized that the cult which grew up around these two names has been an important factor from the very beginnings of this bhakti way. However, its origins and early development have been the subject of much controversy, which has been marked by wide differences of conviction among scholars. Bhandarkar (36) for example, who in his study of this subject has shed much new light from inscriptional data, holds that originally Vasudeva and Krishna were not identified. Originally the former was a man, belonging to a tribe, called the Satvatas. He lived as early as the sixth century B. C., perhaps even earlier. Among his tribe he developed a theistic religion. Subsequent to his death he was deified and identified with the deity whom he taught his people to worship. Still later he became identified with Narayana. The latter seems originally, according to Farquhar (37), to have been an important conception. Its origins, however, have been lost. While it has come to be a title given now to one and now to another deity, yet even in its early as well as in its most frequent use it has been applied chiefly to Vishnu. Although in time the Vaishnava groups sought to monopolize the use of this term for their own deity, yet it has been applied to others' also. It is not improbable that its early association both with Vishnu and Vasudeva may have had not a little to do with the latter's identification with the former. Then finally—to return to Bhandarkar's theory —Vasudeva becomes identified with the Krishna of Mathura, who is associated with Radha. This last modification Bhandarkar thinks came about through nomadic tribes, called Abhiras, whose modern descendants are the Ahirs. These worshipped a boy-deity, with whom stories of libertinism (38) were associated. Grierson, Garbe and Winternitz have become associated with him in this view, and more recently Radhakrishnan (39), who considers this Vasudeva-Krishna cult the basis of the Bhagavadgita, as well as of modern Vaishnavism. According to Garbe this whole development is marked by four stages. The first is anti-Vedic and therefore independent of the Brahmans. It is a popular monotheism with Krishna-Vasudeva as the object of worship. In the second stage this religion becomes brahminised. In this stage Krishna becomes identified with Vishnu, and the latter becomes exalted as the pre-eminent deity. The first stage, Garbe thinks, occurred previous to 300 B. C., and the second after that date. He thinks the third stage was in process, beginning as early as the opening of the Christian era and continuing until 1200 A. D. In this stage the Bhagavata religion became Vaishnavism, and into it were brought the tenets of the Vedanta, Sankhya, and Yoga philosophies. Last of all came the stage of Ramanuja, who gave a philosophical basis to the bhakti faith.

On the other hand, however, Hopkins (40) Keith (41) and Jacobi (42), who are also outstanding scholars in this particular field of study, state reasons why they consider this position of Bhandarkar and his colleagues as unhistorical. Furthermore Urquhart (43) states reasons why it does not follow, as held by Grierson (44), that the bhakti attitude "expresses itself in a distinctly monotheistic tendency". The former suggests, on the contrary, that: " while it may be the explanation of a subjective and temporary monotheism, it really issues in an objective polytheism. In his intensity of devotion, the worshipper may indeed single out one particular god, and so adore him as to make him for all purposes supreme and universal. But no rational ground is assigned for this supremacy and universality, and it therefore remains a merely individual affair. Other worshippers may take up the same attitude to another god, and indeed even the particular worshipper we are considering may, with comparative ease and celerity, change the object of his devotion". Farquhar (45) also concludes that there is no indubitable evidence for a monotheistic religion in that early time. With this view most scholars agree.

Vishnu also became very early a nucleating centre around which much of the bhakti development grew. The origins of this deity, and the causes of his very rapid growth into pre-eminence in the later Vedic period have been the occasion of much discussion; and as yet many problems remain unsolved.

In the Rig-Veda, although this deity appears to occupy quite a subordinate place among the others, yet his constant identification with the sacrifice is evidence to Keith (46) that Vishnu in reality held a large place in Vedic life. The importance of the sacrifice continued to grow throughout the Yajur-Veda and in the Brahmanas. This period marked also the growing importance of Vishnu, until in the Satapatha Brahmana (47) he becomes the personification of the sacrifice. Is not this development of the sacrifice one at least of the sources of his rapidly growing prestige during this period?

In the Vedas he is the god of the three strides. Identified with the sun, he dwells in regions of light where even birds may not approach (48). He is associated with Indra in fights with the demon, Vritra (49). In the Upanishads it is the desire of man to "reach the highest place of Vishnu" (50). Bhandarkar thinks that this desire was also a source in enhancing the greatness of this deity (51). He is also associated with the household and marriage ritual (52). Was he, unlike the older deities of the Vedas, a popular one, whether from among the masses, or even from among the aborigines? Keith considers (53) that he, along with Rudra, enjoyed the veneration of the people. It will be recalled that for many of the Aryan groups at least the later

Vedic period marked the transition from the tribal to the kingdom social order. This would undoubtedly eventuate in unfavourable economic and social conditions for many of the priestly families. Rhys Davids refers to conditions (54) when many of the Brahmans forsook their priestly occupations. Did some of these become priests of the gods which were popular among the people (55)? Was the worship of Vishnu so popular and deeply rooted among the masses that in the process of adjustment it came naturally into the place of pre-eminence? Or was this worship the special cult of Brahmans, who got into control early and linked theirs with the more simple and popular elements among the masses to whose gifts they were compelled to look for their sustenance? Many other questions, such as these, arise to which as yet definite answers cannot be given.

However, the problems in connection with this deity cannot be dismissed without some reference to the incarnation notion, with which Vishnu became associated early; and which marked one of the ample stages in the earlier development of the bhakti way. In Jacobi's able discussion (56) of this subject he exhibits the various stages and modifications in its evolution. He thinks it is unlikely that the theory of incarnation was first suggested by the story of Rama. The remarkably rapid change in the latter from an epic hero into an incarnation of Vishnu, which occurs between the redaction of the original Ramayana and the addition of the first and last books, was, he thinks, rather the application of a notion already deeply integrated in the social inheritance. Krishna, he holds, was the incarnation which established this notion in the social inheritance. His was a wide-spread worship, first as a tribal hero and later as a demi-god. Later still he became identified with Narayana and out of this we have the birth of this theory. However, Jacobi states that the Krishna incarnation-theory ought not to be thought of as the outcome of theological speculations, such as he thinks has been the case with most of the incarnations, set forth in the Vedic literature. It is rather "the great principle pervading and upholding a popular religion". Originally Krishna, Rama and Parashurama had no relationship with Vishnu. Parashurama's connection with Vishnu seems to have come about very late as an adjustment to meet the necessities of popular belief.

The consideration of Krishna as an incarnation of Vishnu leads one naturally to the Epic literature. Rama as an incarnation, presented in the Ramayana, will be discussed in a later chapter. The Epic literature as a vehicle, which promoted the ascendancy of the bhakti way, marks another ample stage in its development. This literature also is beset with many problems.

Dr. Farquhar in his admirable summaries (57) presents the major stages with their related problems, which belong in the development of the Mahabharata epic. In its beginnings and later growth this Epic—the Ramayana will be discussed later—three general phases are discernible. These are exhibited in both the Epics. They are as follows: first, the Epic, composed as a popular poem and the product of the 6th., 5th., or 4th. century B. C.; second, the Epic, made the vehicle to promote Vaishnavism and a product of the 2nd., century B. C.; and lastly, Vaishnava theism. In this stage the Mahabharata becomes the repository of theology, philosophy, and politics; this being the product of the 2nd. century A. D. While, as to these different stages in the Epic development, there is a growing unanimity among scholars, yet when it comes to dating each of these, this is not the case. Dr. Farquhar's treatment furnishes the bibliography of those who discuss the problems connected therewith.

The first stage need not detain us long as it is akin to the development of epic literature in general. Suffice it to state: that its roots draw from the moving stories, such as are found in both the early and later Vedic literature. While no scholar has as yet separated out the old heroic material from the mass of later growth, yet the main features of this old material's religious background is quite clearly discoverable. As summarized by Farquhar (58) the religion is frankly polytheistic and ritualistic. If sectarianism exists this early in the social inheritance, it has not as yet come into this literature. It contains neither theism, divine incarnation, nor any indication of the atman doctrine, as being a part of the thinking of that day. Although all the old Vedic deities are recognized, it is Indra, Brahma and Agni who appear to be the chief. Krishna appears, but it is not certain whether or not he is to be thought of as merely a man, or as a tribal deity.

In the second stage the religion is still polytheistic with emphasis upon the sacrificial ritual. However growing up side by side with this is seen the tendency to exalt the tribal hero, Krishna, into at least a partial incarnation of Vishnu, who in the triad has Brahma and Shiva as his associates now. But in reality he is "the popular god of many clans".

Then in the last stage Vaishnavism comes into the hands of the philosophically-minded; and the deity is set forth in the terminology of the Sankhya and Vedanta systems, these being brought together by means of the Yoga. This is the phase of the development when large sections of didactic material were added (59). Although as yet no critical study of all these sections has been completed with a view to setting all this new material in relation to dates and authorship, yet Hopkins (60) considers these

portions to have come from Kosala, Videha, and the banks of the lower Ganges, rather than from the more ancient seats of Brahman culture, farther west.

Of these didactic sections the most important by far is that known as the Bhagavadgita. Its date has been a subject of great controversy. Telang (61) and Bhandarkar (62) place it as early as the 4th. cent. B. C. But few scholars agree with them. Farquhar, agreeing with Holtzmann, Hopkins and Keith (63), places it later than the second stage of the Epic and prior to the rest of the didactic Epic portions.

The religion, exhibited in this work, is for all Hindus, rather than for everyone, as characterized Buddhism and Jainism. However, in all the old systems, whether Brahmanic, Jain, or Buddhistic, only those who became ascetics could secure the salvation offered. Whereas in the Gita-type salvation may be secured by all Hindus while they still continue to live in the work-a-day world. This is a radically new point of view and is another evidence of the reaction against the old ascetic way. The Gita sets forth three ways of salvation: that of knowledge, that of works and that of bhakti. Of these three the last is the most excellent way. While this work registers a radical change in some points in religious thinking and practice, yet as it now stands it, on the whole, follows the path of compromise. Hindu law (64), the rules of caste (65) and the regulations regarding the worship of ancestors (66) are all to be faithfully kept.

This work bears evidence of being rewritten (67). Regarding this, two very different theories are held by scholars. Garbe, following Bhandarkar's theory regarding the origin of Krishna worship (68), holds that the Gita was written originally in the 2nd. century B. C. This writing was done on the basis of the Sankhya-Yoga system. In the 2nd. century A. D., however, this theistic work was brought under the influence of the pantheism of the Upanishads and reconstructed; and this is the occasion of its inconsistent theological teaching. Not many, however, have accepted his theory (69). In criticizing it, Keith calls attention (70) to the fact that it is based in part upon the supposition, which Jacobi has shown to be a mistake (71): that Patanjali, who is considered to be the founder of the Yoga Sutra, is the same as the grammarian, who belonged in the second century B. C. This Keith feels makes the early date extremely improbable. Hopkins, in referring to this same theory (72), states that Garbe makes the work appear homogeneous by excluding all the verses in it which teach the Vedanta doctrine. The historical effect produced thereby is fallacious. "The epic philosopher is never a Sankhyan; he is a Sankhya-Yogist, and it is this connecting link of the Yoga which to his mind makes it possible to unite two radically different

systems". In a footnote, Hopkins adds " Only four passages, out of the twenty selected to prove the case in Garbe's Bhagavadgita (1905), show any sign of interpolation, and of the four only one is a really striking case of breaking the connection ". Farquhar thinks (73) that it is much more likely that the Gita, represents an old verse-Upanishad, which belongs somewhat later than the Shvetashvatara, and which after the opening of the Christian era was worked over to promote the worship of Krishna. He suggests that a careful comparison between this work and the Buddhist Saddharma Pundarika would be profitable in clearing up many of the problems referred to above. Some have seen in the Gita distinct traces of Christian influence. Garbe (74) has reviewed all this material. It is much more probable that all its sources are purely Indian.

The outstanding feature of this work in relation to deity is the transformation of Vishnu and Krishna. The former on the one hand becomes identified with Brahman-Atman and on the other with Krishna. Until this transformation, Vishnu had been one of the triad of important deities. But now he is exhibited as the Absolute. Krishna, who in the second stage, was at best but a partial incarnation of Vishnu is now the complete Absolute. Hence he is called Bhagavan, the blessed Lord, and this work the " Song of the Blessed " (Bhagavadgita). While, as Farquhar states (75), this identification of Vishnu with Brahman suggests that the Absolute is personal, yet it tended to make the former remote by the usual rationalizing process to which reference has already been made. In actual practice and life man cannot live long with a remote deity. The uncertainties become too great. The incarnation-technique works out in practice to bridge the chasm. Hence the popularity of the incarnations, or at least until they too come under the corroding influences of the rationalizing process, which, as we shall see, takes place in their case also later. As this rationalizing process proceeds with the incarnations they too become increasingly remote. Then the tendency grows to bring in the guru to bridge the chasm. Even he in time repeats this same process.

In turning to the consideration of some of the later portions of this didactic material one finds that in sections, such as the Anugita and Sanatsujatiya, the leading philosophical and religious ideas with their background are much the same as reflected in the Gita. One such section (76) is particularly revered by Vaishnavas as it contains their deity's thousand names. In the twelfth book one meets with something of a new atmosphere and ideas (77). This, it is held, reflects a later phase in the evolution of Vaishnava teaching. Here Vishnu is represented as existing in four forms, or Vyuhas, whatever this may mean. As yet no one seems to be clear as to the background and ideas of this

"schema". Again the following terms meet one frequently in this section, especially the last: Satvata, Bhagavata and Pancharatra. The first appears to refer to the group, or the religion professed by those with whom Vasudeva is originally associated (78). The second is applied even early to those who worship Vishnu. At Besnagar, near Bhilsa in Gwalior State, there is an inscription (79), which Bhandarkar considers belongs in the second century B. C., in which a Greek, named Heliodorus, calls himself a "bhagavata". In India today this word, however, has another reference also (80). Pancharatra refers to the sectarian Vaishnavas, "the worshippers of the One", who, because they confined their worship to one deity, were not considered orthodox. Was this religious development non-Aryan in its origins; and is this the reason it was counted unorthodox (81)? This is another one of the many problems, connected with the beginnings of bhakti, upon which more light is needed. Radhakrishnan, however, favours such a judgment. That portion of the Narayaniya, which contains the story of Narada's journey to Shvetadwipa, his experiences and the teachings he received, comprise the Scriptures of this sect. Panchashikha, who taught a theistic form of Sankhya, is regarded by Hopkins (82) as the author of their teaching.

The story of Narada's visit possesses not a little significance. However, this latter does not consist in any reputed relationship with the West, or with Christianity, which is really highly improbable. Garbe, in a work to which reference has already been made, has a good discussion of these possibilities regarding supposed historical connection. It consists rather in the fact that it reflects a stage in the struggle of the bhakti way for ascendancy. Then again from the connection exhibited and the names of the ascetics given in this section (83) it is reasonably clear that the bhakti development in some of its stages at least had direct relations with the ascetic development. In this story we have the three types of salvation presented. Then it is stated that neither the ancient way of sacrifice, nor even the way of asceticism qualifies one to get a view of the Supreme, or to become the object of his special favour. The way of bhakti alone affords this.

Before passing from the discussion of the material of this stage, it is well to note that the Krishna who fills the pages of the Harivansha and the Bhagavata Purana has not yet appeared. This is also true regarding Radha. The Krishna of the extant literature of this period was born in Mathura that he might kill Kamsa and other demons like him. Subsequently he went to Dvarika. Vasudeva and Devaki are his parents. There is no reference either to any relationship with the cowherds of Gokul, or to his being the object of worship as a child.

A general view of the beginnings of the bhakti development would not be complete without some reference to the part played by the Puranas in promoting its conscious beginnings. They also, like the two great Epics, become vehicles for sectarian propaganda. The Puranas, to quote Wilson (84),"offer characteristic peculiarities" which mark them as more modern than the Epic. "Paramount importance is given to individual divinities,"—to the "rites and observances addressed to them." Legends are invented "illustrating the power and graciousness of these deities, and of the efficacy of implicit devotion to them". Hence the Puranas are "no longer authorities for Hindu belief *as a whole*;"—"they exhibit sectarian fervour and exclusiveness, not seen in the Ramayana (Valmiki), and only to a qualified extent in the Mahabharata";—"compiled for the purpose of promoting, either the preferential or the sole worship of Vishnu or Shiva." "Vishnu or Shiva, under one form or other, are almost the sole objects that claim the homage of Hindus in the Puranas." Furthermore as an evidence of the age and the virility of the Krishna phase of the bhakti development, this utilization of the Puranas began with the worshippers of this deity.

The sources of this type of literature are very old. Pargiter (85) places the original compilation as early as the 9th. century B. C. He quotes Kautilya (86) to show that as early as the 4th. cent. B. C. the Puranas were definite works, whose established awareness in the social inheritance presupposes an already long development. However, the existing Puranas come from much later and varied dates. Portions at least of these have been worked over again and again in the interests of sectarian propaganda. The original material consists largely of royal genealogies, warrior ballads and tales. Practically all the religious teaching, they now contain, was added much later.

According to scholars generally the earliest of the existing works were given their present form sometime during the Gupta period. Pargiter refers to the fact (87) that Bana in his Harivansha mentions the Vayu Purana, from which the former concludes that it must have existed before 620 A. D. The Bhagavata Purana is generally recognised as the latest of the more important of this type of literature. The same scholar (88) places it in the 9th. century A. D. Its early importance and influence appear to have been connected with South India during the bhakti revival which spread northward. Hence further reference will be made to this work in the following chapter.

The reputed number of the Puranas is eighteen. But there are really twenty. Harivansha, the concluding portion of

the Mahabharata, is classed as one. It is considered the oldest and is the most highly esteemed. It and the Vishnu Purana appear to belong to the same period (89), which is considered as not later than the opening of the fifth century A. D. Farquhar considers the latter the product of the Pancharatra sect of Vaishnavism (90). It and the Harivansha have much in common. In theology they differ little if any from the Gita. Their significance in this development is the importance they give to the youth of Krishna. Both works are full of stories of superhuman deeds, wrought by this youth and his brother. These stories are not free from coarse jokes and erotic tendencies. This is especially true of the Vishnu work. Their influence has been enormous. They have done much to enhance the popularity of Krishna within certain circles, as well as to give a strong impetus to the later development of the erotic in Hinduism.

The Shakta religious development, which came into prominence about the middle of the sixth century A. D., participated in and also promoted this erotic emphasis to a remarkable degree (91). This later development gave great prominence to the worship of goddesses as the consorts of one or other of the great deities. These goddesses represented the creative energy of the particular deity with which they were associated. Some of the religious practices connected with many of these cults became and have continued so degrading that they are unmentionable. Inasmuch, however, as the Rama phase of the bhakti development is fortunately remarkably free from such unwholesome religious practices and symbolism; and since it is a phase of the Rama cult with which this particular study is concerned, no further special reference will be made to the erotic phases of bhakti. Suffice it to add: that the latter is connected primarily with some one or other element of the Radha-Krishna cult.

However, discussion in this chapter ought not to be concluded without first giving some consideration to another development, contributory to the beginnings of bhakti, and which is also beset with many problems. This is the Rama cult. Schrader (92) and Bhandarkar (93) consider it of comparatively modern growth. The latter would place its beginnings as late as the twelfth century A. D. Both base their conclusions upon the lack of any reference to such a cult in the early literary and inscriptional remains. But since one is not justified in equating literary remains and inscriptional materials with the entire ongoing life of a group in any particular phase of its history, arguments so based must remain more or less inconclusive. On the contrary Farquhar, among other proofs offered (94), refers to the existence of an Upanishad called the Rama-purva-tapaniya in which Rama is set forth as an incarnation of Brahman, and remarks quite rightly that this carries with it certain implications regarding a Rama cult existing several centuries previous to the time, assigned by Bhandarkar.

Where did this Rama cult arise originally ? Was it in South India rather than in the North ? Did Jainism, which spread early to South and West India, have anything to do with the spread of the Rama stories in the South (95)? These are some of the interesting and teasing problems that await more light before they can be settled. Several indications incline one to favour the thought that its early development took place in the South. Should this turn out to be so, would it not have something to do with the fact that information about the Rama cult is late in appearing in the literary remains and inscriptions in North India? This is at least a question worth raising.

After this comparatively brief and altogether too cursory résumé of the data and problems of a wide and obscure field of study, which is the second task that was designated for this chapter, one must seek to gather up what would appear to be the major facts in this early development; and concerning which one may be tolerably certain. What were these larger and more certain factors in the actual beginnings of bhakti as a conscious religious development ?

First of all it is evident: that bhakti as an unnamed experience and expressive of certain habits and attitudes towards some object, considered as deity, is much older than the technique and content, which became attached to it later when it evolved into a conscious movement. Bhandarkar states (96): that while the word "bhakti," meaning love, is not found except in a verse in one of the later Upanishads, yet in this same body of literature there is a "fervent meditation" upon a number of imaginative-constructs, such as: Manas (mind), and the Purusha in the Moon or Sun, regarded as Brahman. Meditation of such a type would but magnify the imaginative-construct and give it a "glorious form so as to excite admiration and love." They had the experience. Later came the part which the ascetics doubtless played in naming this experience and elaborating it into a technique of salvation. To the extent that these ascetics could objectify such imaginative-constructs as objects of their "fervent meditation", to that extent they would help to release the pent-up, inner, emotional situation, which was inhibited by the practice of austerities. The extent to which this could be done, and thereby experience release from the inner tensions, would depend in no small degree upon the ascetic's imaginative powers; and the extent also to which he had habituated himself to the way of the mystic. There can be no doubt but what many of them experienced this emotional release by the technique of these imaginative-constructs and passed over to the goal of this process: the trance experience. On the other hand, however, this was a power and an experience which none but the masters, or the few could possess and live their lives upon it, meeting thereby the needs of the heart. The masses, which in this respect must have included many ascetics also, needed something more tangible and immediate than a purely imag-

inative-construct. All such constructs under the process of reflection become more and more remote and attenuated. True, these very masses would make more or less of an imaginative-construct out of their own chosen object of worship. However, their imaginative-construct was attached to some tangible symbol to give body to their more or less unconsciously-created and idealized object of devotion. This immediately-tangible somewhat—whatever it might be—gave body and significance to the object of such worshippers. This the purely imaginative-construct of Brahman could not do. It is tolerably certain that right in this fact we find the reason for the wide prevalence and fervency attached to the worship of the human-like Vishnu and Shiva, and that also of their popular incarnations.

Another assured fact which stands clear above all controversy is that the cult of Vishnu is both an early and popular one. As it grows it seems to gather to itself many accretions. The cult which grew up around this deity was a large factor in the early development of bhakti. Then when the rationalizing process exalted this deity and removed him far from his worshippers, his more popular incarnations came in to maintain and promote the warm, emotional worship which characterized his cult. Among these Vasudeva-Krishna occupies the early and influential place. Jacobi (97), unlike some other scholars, who have dealt with this most vexing problem (98), holds that in Vasudeva we have a deity united with a tribal hero and a wise man, Krishna. As the Vedic period drew to its close Vasudeva, as a god, became equated with Vishnu. At this time, however, Krishna was still regarded as a man. It was only in times subsequent to this that he became identified with Vishnu. This union of the tribal hero with the deity, Vasudeva, contributed to the growth and perfection of the incarnation technique. In the Taittiriya Aranyaka (99) he is first mentioned as a god along with Vishnu and Narayana, while Krishna gets his first mention in the Chhandogya Upanishad (100), where Jacobi thinks he is still thought of as man. In later Upanishads, however, (101), he is regarded as deity along with Vishnu. In the creation of the Krishna-incarnation imaginative-construct, this same scholar thinks Christian influence is excluded. The Jains built up their hagiology, influenced by the Krishna history as a model. It would appear that most of the Jain Scriptures were put together in the sixth century B. C. (102). The split did not come for about three centuries after. From this procedure of the Jains, Jacobi argues that even in that early date the Krishna worship must have been popular and widespread. Concerning the actual coalescence of Vasudevism and Krishnaism this scholar holds that it came about the end of the Vedic period when Vasudeva came to be equated with Vishnu. Then this religion came to be the religion of the Yadavas, who then reverenced Krishna as their tribal hero. In time Krishna came to be thought of as an incarnation of Vishnu. This transition, he thinks, was easy

because of the prevalent notion of heroes being the sons of gods, begotten through relations with women.

Another factor that is written large over the face of the earlier stages of this development is the large influence exercised by the Epic and Puranic literature in promoting the popularization of the Krishna and Rama incarnations of Vishnu.

Then again Jainism and Buddhism ought not to be overlooked as factors in promoting both the early and later stages of this development. Even if, as Jacobi holds, Krishnaism in its early development is earlier than Jainism, yet such a movement as the latter with its rigorous ascetic discipline, would tend to promote the bhakti attitude. As to the relation of Buddhism to the Krishna development there is considerable difference of opinion. Scholars like Senart (103), and de la Valee Poussin (104), with whom Macnicol agrees (105), see Buddhism taking its beginnings out of a social inheritance in which the Krishna development forms an influential factor. Others, however, fail to see this (106). Perhaps we would be nearer the truth to see Buddhism arising out of and as a result of the total social situation to which reference was made in the previous chapters, rather than related to some specific religious current. So far as one may be able to judge, the Buddha country in the East seems to have known little or nothing of the country around Gujarat, where the Krishna movement seems to have arisen. However, one must be warned against equating literature with life. There may have been a considerable amount of religious intercourse of which we have no literary deposit preserved.

However, regardless of whether or not one can settle the origins of the Buddhist development, there can be no doubt that both in its beginnings and in its later development it would prove a great re-enforcement to any bhakti attitude. In the first place Buddha was a fervent soul, who seemed to have been able to make an imaginative-construct and idealization of the "Middle Path". So as far as he was concerned he had something of the bhakti attitude towards his imaginative-construct. It took care of the emotional demands of his inner life. Then the groups he gathered about himself seem to have had in their attitude towards their teacher something of the bhakti attitude towards deity. Upon the passing of their great leader and his subsequent exaltation to deityhood such an attitude would become greatly enhanced and elaborated. One cannot read the psalms of the Buddhist brethren, or sisters without discovering how large an element of the atmosphere of these particular hymns partakes of the bhakti attitude.

In concluding it remains to note that in the matters first under review in this chapter there are in the sources at our disposal three distinct ways of salvation. Each has its own technique and content with a corresponding cosmic world-order. While it is true that no one of these ways is entirely distinct from the others, yet

their definiteness in technique and content are sufficiently pronounced and sufficiently related to social situations, which give them such point and significance as to permit their being considered in some such way as has been attempted here. These lines cannot be sharply drawn. This is due in large measure to the lack of dates and of a general historical background to the literature that reflects these various ways of salvation. However, perhaps enough has been stated to justify this somewhat new approach to this great field of study. In any case some such general survey of the field is all that could be attempted here.

While this bhakti attitude is very largely appropriated by the Vaishnava development as a whole. Yet it is by no means confined thereto. It has effected deeply the Shaiva religious development also. However, it is not the purpose of this study to follow the main lines of all the varied ramifications of the bhakti way of salvation. It is to but one of these lines, the Rama, that particular attention will now be given.

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(2). Carnoy, Mythology of All Races (VI), p. 264f. See Review of above in Amer. Anthropoligist (1918) by Dr. W. E. Clarke, p. 106ff.

(3). R. V., VII. 104; X. 87; A. V., IV. 37; VIII. 6; VII. 76.
Macdonnell, Vedic Mythology, p. 162ff.

(4). A. V., V. 6. 11; XVIII. 4.64; Sata. Brahmana XI. 1. 8. 6; XII 8. 3. 31.

(5). Introductory, Sec. on Presuppositions, No. 9.

(6). Mahabharata, Shantiparva, Chap. I.
Manu VII. 90-93, 202, 211, 212-214.
Shilotri, ibid., pp. 43, 44.

(7). R. V., I. 162, 163; IV. 38, 39, 40.

(8). Farquhar, Outline Relgs. Lit. of India, p. 6.

(9). „ „ „ „ „ p. 7.

(10). E. R. E. (XII), p. 796.

(11). Sata. Brahmana II. 2. 2. 6; II. 4. 3. 14.

(12). Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, p. 141ff.

(13). Mrs. Rhys Davids, Psalms of Sisters, p. 84f, p. 15:

"O, free indeed! O gloriously free
Am I in freedom from three crooked things:
From quern, from mortar, from my crook'd back lord!
Ay, but I'm free from rebirth and from death,
And all that dragged me back is hurled away."
"Cool am I now; I know Nibbana's peace"

„ Psalms of Brethren, p. 5.

(14). V. Smith, Oxford Hist. of India, p. 14.

(15). Aitareya Brahmana, XI. 6. 4.

(16). Davids, ibid., p. 249.

(17). Manu, chaps., II-VII.

(18). Manu, S. B. E. (XXV), Introduct., Sec. ii. p. xlvff.

(19). Mahabharata, III. 43. 4-6.

(20). Davids, ibid., p. 249.

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(22). Farquhar, ibid., p. 52f.

(23). Urquhart, Pantheism and Life, p. 297ff.

(24). Davids, ibid., p. 244.

(25). „ Dialogues of Buddha, (I), pp. 226-232.

(26). R. V., I. 179, cf. Note, Vedic Index (I), p. 7; (Griffith's Trans.) R. V., I, p. 650.

(27). S. B. E. (XXV), p. 273, Note re India; S. B. E. (XXVI), p. 81, Note 3.

(28). Rapson, Cambridge Hist. of India (I), p. 225.

(29). Radhakrishnan, ibid., p. 583.

(30). Farquhar, ibid., p. 116; E. R. E. (IV), p. 838.

(31). D. C. Sen, Hist. Bengali Language and Literature, p. 402.

(32). Davids, Buddhist India, chap. on "Animism".

(33). Bhandarkar, ibid., p. 3.

(34). Mahavastu, I. p. 245, line 8.

(35). Urquhart, ibid., p. 300.
(36). Bhandarkar, ibid., chaps. IV, VII, VIII, IX.
(37) E. R. E. (IX), p. 184f.
(38). Bhandarkar, ibid., pp. 36-38.
(39). Radhakrishnan, ibid., p. 489.
(40). J. R. A. S. (1905), p. 384.
(41). J. R. A. S. (1915), p. 548; (1917), p. 173.
(42). E. R. E. (VII), p. 196f.
(43). Urquhart, ibid , p. 432.
(44). E. R. E. (II), p. 540.
(45). Farquhar, ibid., p. 50.
(46). Rapson, ibid., (I), p. 145.
(47). Sata. Brahmana, XIX. 3. 9.
(48). R. V., I. 155. 5.
(49). Macdonnell, Vedic Mythology, p. 39.
(50). Katha Upanishad, I. 3. 9.
(51). R. V. I. 22. 18; VII. 59. 1-2.
(52). Sata. Brahmana, I. 2. 5.
(53). Rapson, ibid., p. 145.
(54). Davids, ibid., p. 249.
(55). Farquhar, ibid., Note on p. 51.
(56). E. R. E. (VII), p. 193ff.
(57). Farquhar, ibid., pp. 44ff, 83ff, 228ff.
(58). ,, ,, p. 48.
(59). ,, ,, p. 85; Hopkins, Great Epic, chap. V.
(60). Hopkins. Great Epic, p. 78.
(61). S. B. E. (VIII), p. 34.
(62). Bhandarkar, ibid., p. 13.
(63). Farquhar, ibid., p. 86.
(64). Gita, XVI. 23, 24; XVII. 1. 5.
(65). ,, I. 43; II. 31-33, 37; III. 23-26, 35; IV. 13; XVIII. 41-48.
(66). ,, I. 40-44.
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(81). Radhakrishnan, ibid., p. 498.
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(89). Farquhar, ibid., p. 143.
(90). ,, ,, p. 143.
(91). ,, ,, p. 167ff.
(92). Schrader, Introduction to the Pancharatra and the Ahirbudhnya Samhita, pp. 5-9.
(93). Bhandarkar, ibid., p. 47-48.
(94). Farquhar, ibid., p. 190.
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(99). Taittiriya Aranyaka, X. 1. 6.
(100). Chhand. Upanishad, III. 17. 6.
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CHAPTER IV

SOUTH INDIA'S SHARE IN LATER PHASES OF THE BHAKTI DEVELOPMENT.

In the Bhagavata Mahatmya (1), which is the concluding and also a much later portion of the Bhagavata Purana, bhakti is personalized as a beautiful young woman, who says regarding herself that she was born in Dravida land. In the Bhagavata Purana itself (2) it is represented in prophetic perspective that in the Kaliyuga, while men, devoted to Narayana, will be found scattered here and there throughout India, yet it will be in Dravida land along the banks of the Kaveri (Cauvery), Tamraparni and other rivers in those areas where such devotees will be found in largest numbers. Aiyangar states (3) that all the Alvars and Acharyas of Vaishnavism and all the Adiyars of the Shaivas were without exception born in the Tamil country (Dravida land). It was there also where they propagated their faith.

Barnett states (4) that the word "Dravida", or "Dramida", which in Pali is "Damila", is the ethnic name for Dravidian. He considers that the Pali form is identical apparently with the adjective "Tamil". This name, which he holds is really applicable to only one branch, the Tamil, has been extended to cover a whole racial family. This same author points out that an ancient Tamil tradition refers to "pancha-dravidam", referring thereby to the Tamil, Andhra (Telugu) and Kanarese countries and also to Maharashtra and Gujarat.

The Bhagavata Purana, to which further consideration will be given later is a distinctly sectarian production. It is recognized as the latest of the principal works of this character. Farquhar, who gives consideration to the question of both its place of origin and probable date (5), thinks that it was written about 900 A. D. It is highly probable that the South was its place of origin. Hence it is clear that the statement in the opening paragraph above ought not to be taken as referring to the bhakti development in general. The bhakti attitude and much of its technique had been in existence for centuries before this Purana was written. It must refer, therefore, to some one or other of the later sectarian phases of its growth.

Present-day scholars for the most part recognize that South India undoubtedly had a large share in promoting later phases of the bhakti way of salvation. Rao Sahib S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, who is one of the outstanding present-day South Indian scholars, holds that although the North, rather than the South, is the birthplace of bhakti, yet the South is its special home. He states that the earliest, extant portions of Tamil literature bear distinct traces of devotion to a personal deity. Sir Richard Temple in a recent article (6), written as a review of Prof. Aiyangar's book on

South Indian culture, goes so far as to state: "It is the Southern Bhakti school of thought that one can trace in Vaishnavism—the prevailing belief—as it is now in North India". He adds: "that modern Hinduism owes its existence and its form firstly to the long rule of the Pallavas, and secondly to the Vijayanagar Empire". The former were not merely patrons of Sanskrit culture from the North, but they were also promoters of the worship of Vishnu and Shiva. Then on the other hand Vijayanagar was for long the bulwark, defending the Hinduism of the South from Mohammedan aggression. Although one may not be convinced from the available data that the part played by the South India Hindu development and culture in general was as large as assigned to it by Sir Richard, yet it is very clear that the South Indian contribution to the later Hindu development is much larger than has been recognized hitherto by some scholars.

This chapter will attempt to indicate in broad outline, as well as one may in view of the present paucity of data at one's disposal, the principal features of earlier phases of the South India bhakti development. However, in attempting such a task one must first of all do what one can to reconstruct the social situations out of which such felt, religious needs grew; and which the religious development in the South sought to meet and satisfy. Such has been attempted already in tracing the religious development in the North. It will be undertaken now with reference to the South. Although this is a venturesome task to assay, because the dearth of available historical data, which are necessary for this work, is even greater than was the case in the North. Yet perhaps enough can be done to be of service for the purpose intended.

First of all, therefore, it becomes necessary to assemble the data available to assist in visualizing early conditions in the southern part of the Peninsula. Naturally one turns first of all to inquire as to who the Dravidians were originally. Are they to be thought of as constituting the original inhabitants of this great sub-continent (7)? Or are they a racial group, which came into India several millenia before the Christian era by way of Baluchistan, and which made its way gradually into the plain of the Indus river, and, ultimately, into the regions south of the Vindhyas (8)? This is a question still beset with many problems, for which more light is really needed before any decisive answer can be given. Fraser holds (9) that there is no reliable evidence to prove, either that the Dravidians were the original inhabitants, or that they arrived from outside. However, this much at least is clear: the peoples living in South India were kept isolated down to almost historical times from the recurring inroads and conquests to which those living in the North were exposed.

For a long time the Vindhyas proved an effective barrier to military aggression from the North. However, this does not pre-

clude necessarily the possibility or probability, of the peaceful penetration of the Aryan culture into the South at a time previous to military operations. Although the latter may accelerate the process, as it generally does for reasons that are obvious, yet the peaceful penetration process may be well advanced before military activities are undertaken.

This brings us to the interesting question as to when Brahman culture became a real determining factor in the social inheritance of the peoples of the South. There is a considerable difference of opinion among scholars on this point. For example, Burnell thinks (10) that even as late as 700 A. D. Brahman influence in the South was not extensive. A. Govindacharya Svamin rejects this as altogether too late a date. He, like other present-day South Indian scholars, places the "Arianization" of the South much earlier: between the sixth and the third centuries B. C. (11). But Crooke thinks this is much too early (12). "Arianization", however, does not connote just the same thing as the Brahman phase of this process.

However, before discussing the problems connected with this "Arianization" process, it is necessary first of all to indicate as clearly as may be possible those characteristics of early religious culture in the South, which may be classed as peculiarly South Dravidian. As is obvious, we shall be compelled to use such literary documents as are available to feel our way back behind them into the social inheritance of which they have partaken, and into the social situations out of which they came. This, it must be confessed, is a precarious undertaking when the literary data available are very limited; and when one must depend upon others to furnish what is in the originals. However, with such aid as discipline in the social sciences is calculated to render, something not altogether worthless can be accomplished in spite of the serious handicaps indicated.

Of the South literary languages Tamil, Kanarese, Telugu and Malayalam are the chief (13). Among these Tamil is by far the oldest, richest and most highly organized (14). This would imply not only that the beginnings of their literary development was of high antiquity, but also that they were long subjected to the stimulating effects of alien cultures, which brought them contacts calculated to keep the Tamil civilization growing, and thereby enriching its own characteristic culture. The large amount of available data (15) furnishes abundant evidence that long before the opening of the Christian era the three Tamil kingdoms: Pandya, Chola and Chera, had developed a thriving trade and very extensive commercial relations not only with Western and Upper India, but also with the Mediterranean world and the Farther East. The trade with the North and West was largely in jewels, especially pearls. These latter were gathered along the

coasts of the Pandya kingdom (16). Vedic, as well as Buddhist literature (17), refers not infrequently to sea-voyages and ships. Some of the latter are reputed to have been large enough to carry seven hundred—a little bit of exaggeration, most probably. In the Periplus Maris Erythraei, a work of maritime travel and written by an unknown author probably about 60 A. D., or a little later (18), there is ample evidence that India, especially the Tamil kingdoms, had long possessed an extensive and varied maritime trade with both the West and the Farther East. This particular writer describes his own personal experiences, not those of another, along the coasts of the Red Sea, Arabia and Western India, in addition to adding much which he obtained through others. He describes some of the chief ports of the Tamil country, which he calls Damirike (19). Muziris, a port of the Chera kingdom is mentioned. Pliny also refers to this place, and remarks that passengers do not care to embark there as its surrounding sea-front and coast are infested with pirates. Hence all the ships making this a port of call require to carry companies of archers for protection. Nelkynda is another port. This is in the Pandya territory and, at the time of the writer, was India's most important maritime trade centre. The extent of this trade may be imagined from the great masses of Roman coins of that time which have been discovered since in the South. Colonies of Roman traders even were settled in these areas. A "Yavana" colony occupied a centre at the mouth of the Cauvery. Ptolemy (20) writes of those whom he met, who had lived in the Pandya territory for a long time. This maritime trade continued extensive throughout the first three centuries A. D. In the fourth, due to serious political and other disturbances in the Roman Empire, trade with the West almost ceased. During the fifth and sixth it revived slightly. But in the seventh, the century in which the Arabs conquered Egypt and Persia, all direct communication with the West was closed. Trade of such an extent and varied character carries with it large implications for the question under consideration. These will be discussed presently. Suffice it to state here that through such large commercial activities the Tamil kingdoms grew wealthy and attained at an early date a high degree of material civilization.

Kanarese literature, we are told (21), began with a long succession of Jain poets and scholars. It is to Sanskrit scholars from the North that Kanarese owes its reduction to writing. Its alphabet, grammatical terms and arrangement follow the Sanskrit models (22). The written character, which is common alike to Telugu and Kannada is derived from the so-called South Asoka character through that of the cave-inscriptions in the West of India. This cannot be traced to a date prior to 250 B. C. Through the successful researches of Dr. Bühler it is now generally recognized by present-day scholars that this character is North Semitic in origin

(23), and was introduced into India about 800 B. C. The Kanarese vocabulary is so dependent upon Sanskrit for its religious and philosophical terms that the latter has been called its "foster-mother" (24). Even the oldest extant Kanarese works are replete with Sanskrit terms. Literary Telugu, it is claimed by some, was the outgrowth of the literary development in Kannada. These two language areas had no geographical barriers between them, enjoyed an extensive mutual intercourse, and at times during their history were either under a common or allied sovereignty (25). On the other hand, however, it was not until the introduction of Shri-Vaishnavism into Kannada that Tamil culture exercised any influence upon the Kanarese cultural development (26). Geographical as well as linguistic factors were operative in hindering an earlier intercourse.

Malayalam originally appears to have been merely a dialect of Tamil. The divergence of the former into a separate tongue cannot be traced back farther than the tenth century A. D. Its oldest, extant, literary work, which belongs about the thirteenth century, is a poem, the Ramayana, called "Ramacharitam" (27). Among the South Dravidian languages, the proportion of Sanskrit words is largest in this language, while in Tamil it is smallest. This would go to show that in the Tamil culture in general we would expect to find that which is most characteristically South Dravidian.

However, Konow (28) holds that although the earliest Dravidian literature goes back to a very early date, yet it is very largely indebted to the Aryans. Aiyangar (29), who, basing his argument on the chronology of Tamil literature and history, holds also to the early date, states (30), that just as Indian history begins with the coming of the Aryans into India, so also the history of India south of the Kistna-Tungabhadra frontier begins with the arrival of the Aryans in the South. From the early grammarians, Bhandarkar, on the other hand, has sought to show that not until the seventh century B. C. did the Aryans of the North know anything about the South. Up to that time such advance southward as may have been made by the Aryans was, he thinks, by way of the Eastern and Western coastal regions, below the Ghats (31). Crooke also thinks (32) that although this peaceful penetration of Brahman culture may have passed down through these coastal areas, yet for a long time the advance into the Deccan was checked by the mountains which separate the latter from the low-lying coastlines. He holds that a comparatively late date for the integration of the Brahman culture into the the social inheritance of the South fits in well with the existing facts. He points out that the South Dravidian tongues have not only held their own, but that their general culture, art, politics and religion have developed along original lines, quite different from the Northern culture. Sir George Grierson,

who in general favours Crooke's position, makes an observation as to what happens when a cultural group, whose language has not yet become integrated in a literary development, comes into continuous contacts with another cultural group, whose language, on the contrary, has become already embedded in a rich and varied literary development (33). It is the language, possessing no literary development, which "invariably goes to the wall". This process may be seen in India to-day among those Dravidian and other cultural groups, which have no literary development. Sir George remarks "that the South Dravidian tongues have held their own down to the present". The inference naturally is: that had the Tamil country had no literary development connected with its language previous to the arrival of the Brahmans, then the process, to which this scholar refers, would have either worked itself out to completion in the passing away of the Tamil tongue, or that this process would at least have been well advanced in that early period. However, does not the force of this line of argument become largely vitiated when it is realized, that not infrequently the promoters of an alien culture, possessing literary development, present their alien culture in the garb of the indigenous language, rather than by means of the alien language tool? The fact has been noted already that the Jain poets and scholars laid the foundations and promoted the early literary development in the Kanarese vernacular. We are told (34) that wherever Jainism and Buddhism were carried in the early centuries of these movements they gave an impulse to the formation of literary languages from among the dialects where these religions spread. What was to hinder the earlier-arriving Brahmans from the North from doing something similar in the Tamil country? It may be urged that the Brahman culture through age had become already much more rigid than the other two religions from the North. Moreover, the former had long since become knit up into a more closely articulated aristocratic system both of thinking and practice in matters social and religious. Then this culture had become enshrined in the sacred Sanskrit tongue. Hence the penetration of the Brahman culture to the extent of becoming an influential factor in the social inheritance of the South would be much slower than that of Jainism and Buddhism. These latter were more democratic in their fundamental principles; and were not linked up with an aristocratic social system. Furthermore an observation of Campbell's has been cited as militating against the conviction concerning the existence of early Brahman culture in the Tamil country (35), namely: "people at an early stage of culture are too entirely steeped in the awe and reverence, which has descended to them through their forefathers to adopt heartily and entirely a system of worship coming from abroad. The imitative faculty may be active in grafting foreign features on native religion, but the inherent force of that religion

will always prevail over such adjuncts, which to begin with are imperfectly understood". Now while the above is a matter of such common observation that it cannot be gainsaid, yet on the other hand no matter how early the missionaries of the Brahman culture may have arrived in the South and began their work, yet there is enough indigenous originality about the Tamil culture to make one certain that even at that early time, whenever it might have been, the Tamil land possessed no inconsiderable culture of its own. Then on the other hand those Brahmans, who had enough of the pioneer spirit to travel so far from the sacred land of the Brahman culture, must have been adventurous souls. An adventurous soul is always both forward-looking and one who possesses to a greater or lesser extent the mind and the ability to adapt himself to new conditions. If the Jains from the North possessed the mind and the ability to make the Kanarese vernacular a vehicle with which they expressed their religious culture, what was there to hinder adventurous souls from among the Brahmans of a still earlier day from doing similarly in the Tamil country? While one may not be able to put his finger on specific evidence to substantiate the above statement, yet Aiyangar in his new work, just published (36), in which he discusses this whole problem at considerable length, has certainly made out a strong case for the integration of a considerable amount of Brahman culture at a time previous to the coming of the Jain and Buddhist religious movements into the same areas.

According to him (37) the main source of information in the Tamil country for the times preceding the rise of the Pallavas is a body of literature, known as the "Sangam", which term is equivalent to "sangha" in the Sanskrit. This designation assumes the existence of something like an "academy of scholars or critics", which gave its sanction to the issuing of literary works in Tamil in those early days. But the very existence of such a body presupposes a preliminary period of literary beginnings and early development of no inconsiderable length of time before ever the feeling of need for such a body would naturally arise. The conscious need for such a body, like the codification of law, would come in the later stages of the initial literary development after there had already been much individualistic and sporadic literary activities. Such an academic group grew up undoubtedly in answer to some felt-need, which must have already become more or less general; and must have arisen only after some taste for literature had already developed. As stated by Aiyangar, the very existence of such a group presupposes "a body of scholars of recognized worth and standing in the world of letters, who were maintained by the contemporary kings, and who constituted a board before whom every work seeking recognition had to be read" (38). Tradition refers to three such groups of scholars and critics. The first and second contained a number of Pandya kings, who are reputed to have taken part in such activities.

Aiyangar places the age of the Sangam (39) in the first and second centuries A. D. Much of the literary productions of these periods is concerned with heroic events in the lives of kings, or of other patrons of the authors. "Several of these fugitive pieces", this author adds, "are like the heroic tales out from which sprang Homer's Iliad—the Ramayana and Mahabharata." "These works relate to the generations preceding, several of them proximate, some of them it might be remote." As a whole they give us a picture of the Tamil land in a time of comparative quiet, great prosperity and of an extensive trade. However, they also give fugitive references to times of invasion. For example, there is a reference to the Mauryan invasion when the invaders came as far south as within seven miles of Madura. Another reference is to the ruts on a distant hill on the frontier of Tamil land, which had been made by the "rolling cars of the Mauryas". The Nandas also of the North were known to these Tamil writers. Reference is made to the wealth of the former in their capital at Patali (Patna).

It is probable from literary data, presented by Aiyangar (40), that in the time of Asoka the southern limits of his Empire, which lay outside the northern limits of the Tamil kingdoms, marked also the southern limits of the Buddhist official propaganda. However, this would not necessarily prevent individual Buddhists, or small groups from carrying their faith into the Tamil areas. With the opening of the Christian era, however, and perhaps even a half century earlier, there is evidence in the Sangam literature that both Jainism and Buddhism were flourishing in the Tamil kingdoms. Aiyangar, on the evidence from the literature, concludes "that there is nothing whatsoever to justify the old classification that there was an age of the Jains, which preceded all others, followed by an age of the Buddhists and then again by the Brahmanical age. No clearly marked chronological division is discernible in the evidence at our disposal". His conviction is: that in the beginning, which corresponds with the years immediately preceding and succeeding the opening of the first Christian century, these three faiths lived side by side. Sometimes they all three enjoyed the favour of the rulers. At other times a ruler, becoming the devotee of one or other of these religions, would cause the partial eclipse, or even the persecution of the followers of the other faiths. It would appear that the sectarian and persecuting spirit increased after the opening centuries of the Christian era. Fraser (41) calls attention to the fact that two important romances in Tamil of the second century A. D. reflect a condition of comparative harmony among the Jains, Buddhists and, what this writer calls, the indigenous cult of Shiva. However, on the other hand, another Tamil romance of the tenth century reflects hostility on the part of the Jains as well as the Shiva cult towards Buddhism. This hostility grew not only against the latter faith but also against Jainism, until by the fifth and

sixth centuries there was something akin to a nationalist revolt against these two alien faiths from the North and in favour of Shiva. This revolt seems to have been well advanced when Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, visited the South in 640 A. D. We are told by him that Kanchi city was so large that it was five miles in circumference. It contained at that time as many as a lakh of Buddhist monks, many Jain ascetics and some eighty Brahman temples. But in the land to the south of the Cauvery—Malakuta—the people were engrossed in commercial gain, rather than interested in learning. In it were the ruins of many old monasteries, presumably Buddhist. On the other hand there were many Deva temples, and a multitude of heretics—the lattter of course were considered such from the standpoint of a devout Buddhist. In the Chola and Pandya kingdoms farther south, he describes two Buddhist stupas. From the above facts it would appear that at that time Buddhism at least on the one hand was on the wane, while on the other Brahmanism, or at least its South Indian phases were coming into the ascendancy.

However, at the opening of the Christian era the commercial and political relations of the Tamil kingdoms with other countries in the West and North seem to have been such as would tend to promote the Jain and Buddhist faiths in the former. Ceylon seems to have been the exception (42). Towards the latter the attitude of sometimes one sometimes another of the Tamil kingdoms was one of continued hostility throughout a long period of time. Furthermore, with the exception just noted, religious conditions, especially among the rulers in the countries adjacent to the Tamil kingdoms, had long been such as to enhance the prestige of these two faiths. Brief reference has already been made to the Kanarese country. Attention will now be given to the Kalinga and Andhra kingdoms, which were the other two most powerful South Indian kingdoms in the years preceding and following the opening of the Christian era.

In the ninth year of Asoka's reign, about 262 B. C., the Kalinga kingdom (43) was overrun by his armies. At that time Kalinga extended as far south as the Kistna river. From this one must conclude, either that up to this time the Kalingas were independent of the Mauryas, as some hold (44), or that they were a part of the Empire before this and, having revolted, were being punished and brought into submission again by this ruler. When Asoka became a Buddhist he regretted deeply (45) that so many of its inhabitants (100,000) were slain in this struggle. In this statement of regret we are informed that in the Kalinga country "dwell Brahmans and ascetics, men of different sects" (46). Jainism at least must have been one of these latter. Soon after Asoka's death this kingdom regained its independence. Some of its famous caves,

such as those at Udayagiri Hill, near Cuttack, Orissa, bear inscriptions which show that they were long occupied by Jain ascetics. One of these inscriptions commemorates the devotion of "two kings, a queen, a prince and other persons" (47), who had these caves prepared for the use of Jain devotees. Another one of these, called the Hathigumpha, or Elephant Cave, bears an inscription of Kharavela, a king of Kalinga, who was a Jain. This inscription has been badly mutilated. Hence both its date and information have become the subject of considerable discussion. However, it is probable that it belongs about the middle of the second century B. C. (48). This date seems to fit in with his reign, which began about 169 B. C. According to this inscription, Kharavela invaded a part of the Andhra kingdom. In his second campaign we learn that he subdued the Bhojakas of Berar, and carried his victorious arms as far west as the Maratha country, subduing the Rashtrikas. Both of these latter seem to have been subject to the Andhra kings of Pratishthana, whose territory occupied the north bank of the Godavari in the modern district of Aurangabad, Hyderabad State. Although the Kalingas ethnologically were connected with people, such as the Angas of Bengal rather than with the Tamil kingdoms of the South, yet their territory lay sufficiently adjacent, especially along its southern confines, to give significance to the fact that it was the home of Brahmans and many Jains, both of whom represented a phase of Aryan culture from the North.

The Maurya dynasty came to an end about 184 B. C. (49), and on the ruins of this Empire the Andhra kingdom arose into greatness and attained also finally the dignity of an empire (50). However, Rapson thinks that it was not until the third king of the Satakarni line that the Andhra power came into conflict with the forces of the decaying Empire (51). It would seem that the Andhras, either consisted of two great branches (52), or else they changed their capitals during the five centuries in which they were powerful (53). It would be interesting to learn whether or not the religion of the ruler had anything to do with such changes. Ikhnaton (54) of Egypt was not the only monarch who felt the need of changing his capital in the interests of the new religion which he adopted. Did we but know more about the facts, we might find that some of the Andhra rulers were actuated by similar motives. Under the rule of Andhra-Bhrtyas the great Buddhist tope at Amaravati was built, whose hills surrounding contain many rock-hewn caves, which were once the cells of Buddhist ascetics. Amaravati was the Andhras' second capital. The earliest had been at Shri-kakulam, some nineteen miles from modern Masulipatam. Then again in the first century A. D. the center of at least the western part of this empire was at Pratishthana, to which reference has been made already.

From Bühler (55), whose researches have given us much valuable information from the cave-inscriptions at Nanaghat, we learn that a king of the Satakarni line had a wife, named Naganika, who was a daughter of a king of the Rashtrikas in the Maratha country. There can be little doubt but what this marriage alliance represented a more or less intimate political relationship between these two powers. The Andhra power now stretched from sea to sea, with the Tamil kingdoms on its southern boundaries. In time this Empire extended its power north and west until, according to Rapson (56), who, following the evidence of the coins and inscriptions, considers that it included Videsha and Ujjain. The latter's capital, even from early days, has continued to be one of the most sacred centres of Hinduism. The maritime trade of this power must have been very extensive. From about 40 A. D. and onwards, until the decay of this empire, its coast cities became greatly enriched through their trade with Rome, which the Andhra rulers and satraps did much to encourage (57). The coins, used by this power, which were made of lead, bore on one side the figure of a two-masted-ship (58).

The particular Satakarni king, to whom reference has been made already, performed the great "horse-sacrifice" in accordance "with the ancient Vedic rites" (59). This he did twice (60). Furthermore, among the cave-inscriptions of the Nana pass is one containing a description of the elaborate performance of certain great sacrifices in which a great number of animals, the supplies from many villages and much money were expended—not a little of this latter being in munificent fees to the officiating priests. Such performances, even though the description may contain some exaggeration, bear eloquent witness not only to the great wealth of the Andhra rulers, but also to what is of more concern in this connection: the dominance of the Brahman religious culture and its priestly hierarchy among rulers of this powerful realm. It would seem that the latter Andhra rulers in particular became the protectors and promoters of Brahman culture (61). Soon after the opening of the third century A. D. the Andhra power seems to have become greatly weakened through foreign aggression from both the North and West.

For several centuries an almost continuous struggle had been carried on with varying results, not only among the Tamil kingdoms themselves, but also with the princes, ruling in Ceylon. With the passing of the Andhra power at the opening of the fifth century new dynasties made their appearance. There were the Jain Kadambas, holding the south Maratha areas, bordering on Mysore. The Gangas were in control in the latter areas. Farther to the north on the west lay the Rashtrakutas, a growing power north as well as south of the Vindhyas; to the northeast of which were the early Chalukyas. At this time, however, the Pallavas were the most

powerful dynasty in the South. They not only held the areas around modern Madras, which seems to have been their ancestral home, but their authority extended north of the Kistna, where they occupied the territories of the Vengi, and on the west, to include a part even of the Maratha country. However, the growth of the Pallava power and the Empire of Vijayanagar both bear a distinct relation to later phases of the religious development in the South. Hence we shall defer attention to them until we shall have considered those elements in the Tamil religious culture that are characteristically Dravidian. The discussion thus far in this chapter has been concerned with the delineation of the major political and dynastic changes and the alien religious influences that were brought to bear upon the early South Dravidian religious culture. This all is but preliminary to the task set in this chapter. From necessity the discussion has been an exceedingly summary one. However, it is hoped that no salient factor, which has bearing upon the task undertaken, has been overlooked.

It is clear from the data presented above that Brahmanism, Jainism and Buddhism were all, and in the order named, early in the field. They were also prevalent over wide areas in the South. However, ought one therefore to conclude that anyone of these faiths became popular among the masses of the Dravidian South in the early centuries, either preceding or succeeding the opening of the Christian era, or even at a much later date? We are told (62) that even down to the present the masses in the South are characteristically Dravidian with a thin veneer of the religious cultures, imported from the North (63). It is one thing for the rulers and more sophisticated of the South Dravidian peoples to become the devotees and the patrons of these North India religious cultures. It is quite another matter for this to become true also of the masses. The masses are always (and nowhere else more so than in India) the great conservators of the "mores" (64). The rulers, the religious leaders and reformers and the sophisticated in general appropriate the new and begin to integrate it in the social inheritance. But this takes a long time generally. In time, however, this does happen; and the new ceases to be new. It is then taken up into the "mores" of the masses. The process is hastened greatly by some great religious struggle, like that in which the Vijayanagar Empire fought fiercely and resolutely to save Hinduism from Mohammedan aggression, or in the nationalist revolt against Jainism and Buddhism, during the days of the Pallava rule.

How could a religion, whether on the one hand agnostic about the existence of a personal deity, or on the other an unbeliever in the reality of the human soul, become popular with the masses? Until such a time as the Buddha and the Jain Mahavira became frankly exalted to positions of deityhood, such religions would ap-

peal almost exclusively to the more or less sophisticated, to those satiated with the world and to such as had suffered dire calamities, either at the hands of their fellows, or from "an act of God". These, however, might have been a considerable number. They certainly were so in the North at a much earlier time. It ought also to be borne in mind in this connection that the Tamil kingdoms in the early centuries experienced a rapidly developing material prosperity. Such an experience in a nation or group's life becomes sooner or later exceedingly unsettling to the established customs, habits, attitudes, and norms. This is true, irrespective of whether these latter relate to matters economic, social, political, or religious. One product of any such social situation, whether of ancient or modern days, is the emergence of foci around which gather tensions and conflicts, arising through the disintegration of the old and the incoming of the new. Then out of this there arises in individuals and little groups the ascetic type of mind. This type wishes to re-establish a type of life, which has either passed away, or is passing away. It has been set up by such individuals and groups as the norm, or ideal life. The ascetic development, whenever it appears, is a reaction to a rapidly developing materialistic civilization, when a racial or a national group, by means of some newly created or discovered tool or conquest, has acquired a new and sudden opportunity to amass material wealth. The South India kingdoms, especially those in Tamil land, were in the midst of such a development when Jainism and Buddhism arrived. It is scarcely necessary to add that both of these religious developments have been and still remain essentially ascetic in their character.

The Brahman religious culture, however, had much more in common with the primitive Dravidian faith, than was the case with the two faiths just mentioned. Consequently we need not be surprised to find that the integration of the Brahman religious culture in the South Dravidian social inheritance would not constitute such a problem as was the case with the other two. The world of religious practice and thought into which the primitive Dravidian religion introduces one is very similar to the one reflected in the Artharva-Veda, with this exception that it seems to be still more primitive.

Sewell (65), describing the religion of the masses in South India to-day, thinks that what may be seen among them to-day is, in all probability, what has been always the case. While one may be unwilling to accept such a sweeping general statement, yet certainly conditions among the masses have been such as to perpetuate largely unchanged the major features of their religious practice and thinking. The names of deities and demons may change. Some new ones may be born and become influential. Others may drop into the background and even pass away. Yet the fundamental habits, attitudes and notions, expressed in their religious practice

remain practically the same through the centuries. True, some detail of practice may become modified. Caldwell (66), on the basis of philological study, has attempted to indicate some of the outstanding features of the South Dravidian primitive practices and beliefs. He finds no reference or allusions to images of their deities. In a study of the village gods of South India to-day, Whitehead (67) notes that while some of the more primitive village peoples have no image of their deities, yet, others have a rude figure of a woman carved upon a stone, or some other grotesque figure of a snake, a horse, or of some other animal. More often it is nothing but a simple, stone pillar, or even a rude stone, which symbolizes their deities. Sewell, referred to above, notes that the worship of these masses to-day is directed towards local deities and patron gods and goddesses, and also towards demons for the purpose of propitiating them. Prayers are uttered to the former for temporal needs, and, to the latter, animal sacrifices are offered to avert their anger and capricious, evil wishes. Serpent-worship is prevalent and demons are thought to inhabit trees. He thinks that the worship of Vishnu and Shiva is confined practically to the upper classes. In Caldwell's study, to which reference has been made above, he finds no hereditary priests. It is interesting to note that in the festivals of the South India, village deities to-day, there is no uniformity as to who should perform the ceremonies (68). To resume, Caldwell found that they had no idea of heaven, hell, the soul, or of sin. They acknowledged the existence of deity, to whom they gave the name of Ko; and the temple erected for his use was called Ko-il. However, he was unable to find any trace of their form of worship. In another place he states that in reality the objects of their worship are not the so-called deities, but rather the capricious demons. These they worshipped with bloody sacrifices and orgiastic dances. As another illustration of change in the detail of practice observable to-day among these masses in their worship of village deities, the practice of animal sacrifice has been somewhat modified in the Tamil country. Iyenar, an important, male deity, who is regarded as the night-watchman of the village, is not worshipped with animal sacrifices (69). The village temple ministrant, who is almost always drawn from the lower castes (70), in case he should be a Brahman, takes no part in the animal sacrifices offered at the temple. Among the primitive South Dravidians the officiating priest was most often a magician, or a medicine-man. He became the medium through whom communications from the demons were transmitted. To accomplish this the priest would work himself up into a frenzy first. Thereby he became possessed of the demon to whom worship was being offered.

These frenzied dances are still a marked feature of the South Dravidian religious practices to-day. These who perform such dances are drugged. When the frenzy and foaming at the mouth

appear, it is taken as evidence that the dancers have come into communion with some demon, or goddess. While in this state these become the "soothsayers" of the demon, or deity, which is generally thought of as thirsting for blood and unholy rites to appease his wrath. We shall note shortly that when bhakti took on a new development, during the age of the Pallavas, the practice of dancing and singing before the temple, or image of the chosen deity was one of the most outstanding features. This characterized the religious practice both of the Vaishnava Alvars and of the Shaiva Adiyars.

Another marked feature of South Dravidian worship and related thinking is the prominent place occupied by the female deity. Is this a survival from the time when the mother was the centre and the important one in the family social unit (71) ? Crooke favours this explanation for the origins and early growth of female deity worship (72). Tylor notes (73) that among many primitives the earth is thought of as female. This worship of the earth as female and the source of fertility seems in general to have marked the stage when the primitive adopted a settled life and entered upon some form or other of agricultural activities. A fact recognized generally by present-day scholars is not without its significance in this connection: among some primitives at least (74), and perhaps among all, woman was the pioneer in the cultivation of the soil.

This worship of the earth as mother, and the practice of grouping deities in pairs; or, on the other hand, the practice of combining the two aspects of sex within one deity is observable among primitives generally. Shiva in the South is represented in "his androgynous form as Ardhanarisha, with a hermaphrodite body, uniting in himself the principles of male and female generation" (75). As an example of deities in pairs, Vishnu has become associated in the South with Bhumi-devi (the earth-goddess). All such notions as the above were widespread in early times. The common experiences of life, such as birth and death, impressed the primitive deeply. To all such the really great deity was the one which had to do with such experiences. When reflection arises first and seeks to express itself in imaginative constructs, the primitive is able to visualize such a deity; and to make use of the associated notions in the social inheritance, which are connected with the creative functions of the female. All this is within and intimate to his daily experiences.

However, the earth is not only the common mother of all. She is also the receiver of the bodies of the dead. Herein her darker and malevolent aspect comes into the foreground. Hence with this her fiercer and more terrible characteristics in time become greatly elaborated. Birth and fertility, however, continued to mark her more gracious aspects. Such a type of deity must have appropriated in time the characteristics of many other more local goddesses. Durga is an example of such a goddess. Her non-Sanskrit names would seem to indicate the number of local earth-mothers,

whose worship she absorbed, such for example as Thakur Rani (76). Durga becomes a consort of Shiva, who, according to Fraser, was originally a deity of the primitive South Dravidian people (77). Whitehead refers to the fact (78) that in the Tanjore District the chief goddesses of a large tribe of village deities are seven sisters, who are regarded as emanating from Parvati, the wife of Shiva.

The most important village deities of the masses in the South are female. However, these goddesses are not worshipped all the year around. They have their special festival days (79). The earth-mother among certain Dravidian tribes of Central India (80) has her festival occasions at ploughing, sowing and reaping time, which are the principal agricultural seasons. An aboriginal priest, called "baiga", not a Brahman, performs the ceremonies. Mariamma, the outstanding village goddess in the Tamil country, has her annual festival at the end of harvest and just before the opening of the hot season. These female deities are, for the most part, malevolent, or at least have this as one prominent aspect of their characters. In the Telugu country the characters of the goddesses are not clearly defined. It is quite otherwise, however, in Tamil land. They have elaborate stories about their origins and characters (81). Ellamma, a mother-goddess of the South Dravidians, is in the form of a snake. Her temple is occupied with images of snakes. Durga-Amma seems to be another form of the same deity. Her temple is built over a snake-hole. We are told that the term "amma" or "ammons" means female, rather than mother (82). In usage, however, the meaning appears usually to be the latter.

The religious practice and notions among the masses of the South seem to be saturated with the atmosphere of the soil and of agriculture (83). At the festival of Mariamma it is a common practice to bury the head of the goat, which has been sacrificed, at the place where the fire-stake is located. Is this to re-endow the soil with fresh fertility (84) ? We ought to recall that this festival takes place at the end of the harvest season. The notion is quite common that mother-earth, in bearing successive harvests, becomes exhausted. She needs to be re-endowed with fertility and aroused to fresh activities so that there may be a new harvest and food. The primitive Kol women of Chota Nagpur have a ceremonial dance to effect this purpose. In the dance they kneel and pat the earth, presumably with the purpose of coaxing her to become fertile once again (85). The Oraons, also a primitive tribe of those areas, have a similar ceremonial dance (86), which they conclude by leaping simultaneously into the air. Then they all come down together upon the ground with a loud, resounding thud. Then again fertility of the soil is also supposed to depend upon the periodic marriage of mother-earth to her consort. Such a ceremony is performed by many of the Dravidian tribes. All the non-Brahman agricultural castes in the South worship these female deities (87).

This conception of the mother-goddess seems to be the most important element perhaps in the South Dravidian social inheritance, which has become integrated in the general Hindu religious culture. This type of goddess, representing "the mother-principle as the ultimate secret of the universe" (88), takes her seat finally not only among the great deities of the Aryans, and becomes even greater than any or all of them, but she is even found in the atheistic Buddhistic religious system. There are those (89), who take the position that it is by way of the Buddhistic faith that the Tantric development in its form as Shakti worship attained its prestige and became accepted finally in the Brahman system. It is not without significance that the Tantric deities prefer the worship of the lower, rather than of the Brahman castes (90). In not a few centres of Tantric worship, Durga even is worshipped first by the untouchables, and later by the Brahmans. This all is very suggestive as to the origins and early associations of these goddesses. They belong among the common Dravidian folk and not among the aristocratic Aryans.

With the exception already noted above, these village deities are worshipped with animal sacrifices. The names of these village deities are legion. They differ in almost every district in the Tamil and Telugu countries. In the former the deities which are daily worshipped are more often male. Sometimes these deities represent the spirits of ancestors. These in particular may be those who are supposed to have done some great good or evil while living, more generally the latter. The Tamil country abounds in the worship of such male deities (91). Among these there are those, who, like Durga to whom reference has been made above, by some means or other secured an initial or early advantage and so have absorbed the worship of many local deities. By this process of absorption they have grown great. The deity Shiva appears to be one of this type. Fraser thinks (92) that "the attributes and rites of this deity were gradually brought into conformity, by a process of compromise, with those of some Aryan deity or deities". He holds that "this was due to the necessity under which an invading race lie of compromising with the people among whom they make their new home". He thinks there was a mutual give and take between the two religious cultures; both of the languages and religious cultures being enriched by the incoming of new terms and new religious conceptions. To quote Fraser further, "the attributes of the Dravidian deity Shiva were found to be most in conformity with those of the Vedic god Rudra". The conception thus grew of a half-Dravidian half-Aryan deity "Shiva-Rudra, the destroyer of the Universe". This deity in time became the Supreme deity, Shiva, who to-day is worshipped in some form or other by the great mass of the Dravidian people. The facts certainly incline one strongly to the conviction that the origins of Shiva and his worship are to be looked for in the South

among the Dravidians, rather than in the North. Very early indeed the worship of this deity was widely prevalent in the South. It would appear that this is still the case, in spite of the contrary convictions of some scholars (93).

Regarding the festivals of these South Dravidian village deities, there is no uniformity as to time, the duration of the festival, or the form of the worship offered (94). They may continue for a week. In the Tamil country, however, they may continue for a fortnight, or even a month. The object in mind is generally to ward off calamities from the village, whether from epidemics, or from attacks of one or other of the almost countless demons. Practically all that is done to effect this latter purpose takes its significance from the little universe of magical notions and practice in which these villagers live their lives from "the cradle to the grave".

The shrines of these village deities are simple. More often they are even crude (95). In many villages it is nothing more than a rude stone, or a rough stone platform under a tree, or even in the open field. However, in the Tamil country some of the shrines are buildings of some permanence and size, ornamented generally with grotesque figures. In the Telugu country there is no permanent shrine. It is but temporary, made of bamboo and cloth, for the use of the deity while the festival is in progress. The symbols of the deities are as many and diverse as their names. More often it is nothing but a stone pillar, or a rude stone with some marks upon it.

A study of data such as the above impresses one with the lack of organization and of the indefiniteness, both as to the notions and the technique, connected with the worship of these village deities. It is custom which dictates what ought to be done; and the customary, whether as to deities, or as to worship, has arisen out of the impulses, needs and fears that are elemental in primitive-minded groups. Here we see these primal instinctive impulses, needs and fears in the raw. Hence the sources of their village deities and the reasons for their practices in worship are, for the most part, discernible. This lack of organization, whether as to their technique of worship, or as to their notions relating to their god-world, reflects the unorganized character of village-life conditions. Custom alone is king. But not infrequently custom conflicts with custom. So out of this divided authority more or less of compromise and chaos result; and these issue in a corresponding indefiniteness both as to notions regarding deity and as to the proper technique of worship. Earlier village worship and its deities were in all probability less organized than is discernible to-day among the masses of the South Dravidians.

When one turns from a study of data such as this to that of the Kural, one realizes that the world of religious practice and thinking, reflected in the latter, is very different indeed from that of the village deities. Yet the Kural is called the most characteris-

tic, early, literary classic, extant in Tamil (96). It is the great, literary and ethical treasure of the South (97), worthy to be classed with some of the really great literature of the world. It was written by one Tiruvalluvar, a weaver, who lived at St. Thomé, near modern Madras (98). Although a non-Brahman, Aiyangar thinks he was Brahmanical in religion (99). We are told that the word "Kural" means short (100). It consists of 1330 short couplets of four and three feet respectively, and deals with three subjects: righteousness, wealth and love. Aiyangar describes it as a didactic work (101). The author's purpose, he thinks, was "to enforce the teachings of ethics, common to all religions then obtaining in India, so that whatever might be the actual persuasion, adopted by the individual, he would still find a guide for conduct in life in this work". It is because of this eclectic character that Jains, Vaishnavas, and Shaivas alike have claimed it as a production, written by one of their faith. There are those who see in it even an anti-Brahman spirit. It is said to have been accepted by the third Sangam of Madura (102). This, it is claimed, happened through the miraculous intervention of Shiva. This latter is generally a convenient method of giving prestige to something, which, either by its inherent worth has won already in fact a place of honour, or is promoted to it by a sectarian or propagandist group. In the first alternative a "miracle" authentication saves the face of those who hitherto may have been opponents to giving it a place "among the gods". In the second, it is a cheap sectarian method for giving worth and honour to something, that does not possess it inherently. However, this latter was certainly not the case with the Kural. It is more probable that it won its way upward by its inherent worth; and so later by the many ways then possible, such as authentication by miracle, it came to be accepted "among the seats of the mighty".

What is the age of the Kural ? On this point, Aiyangar, who discusses this work at some length (103), is not very clear. This is not necessarily due to his lack of erudition, but more perhaps to the inherent difficulties of the materials handled. The marked similarities between the Kural's section on life in society and that of Kautilya's Arthashastra, or at least of Kamandaka's Niti Shastra, which is an abridgement of the latter, leads Aiyangar to the conviction that the author of the Kural knew Kautilya's work, and hence the former is posterior to the latter. But how much posterior is it ? Then there is a collection of poems in appreciation of the Kural, which "is ascribed to the members of the third Tamil Sangam". One of these members, called Sattanar, actually quotes from the Kural, which Aiyangar concludes "implies that the work had already attained to a certain vogue among the learned". However, there still remain so many unsolved problems, connected with this Sangam literature, that one must needs use very cautiously many at least of its references for the purpose of fixing dates. Some of

the difficulties, which inhere in the Sangam literature, Aiyangar has recognized himself in the earlier part of his work (104).

The Kural as it stands, although written by a non-Brahman, is not only aware of the Brahman and his culture as an integral part of the group life of the Tamil South, but in addition, if this work can be taken to reflect general conditions, it would seem that at that time the Brahman occupied a high place, both among the rulers and the thoughtful, for his learning and piety. But alas, the person with the historical mind cannot rid himself of the haunting fear: namely, as to the extent the Kural, like the North India Epic and Puranic material, may have been re-handled in the interest of Brahman prestige and propaganda. What we still seem to need in relation to this work is a real textual and historical criticism of its materials. Some of the problems, indicated above, must await solution until this preliminary work has been accomplished.

However, even though there may have been some, subsequently added, pious exaggeration to early Tamil literature, such as the Kural, and done in the interests of the Brahman and his religious culture, yet there is still enough evidence in this same literature and in the other available sources of information to promote in one the conviction that the Brahman and his culture occupied early an honoured place among the rulers of the Tamil kingdoms in the early centuries preceding and succeeding the opening of the Christian era. The reasons for such a conviction are not a few. In the first place, even before the opening of the Christian era the progress in material civilization, already attained in the Tamil country, had been such as to remove the rulers, and such court and commercial classes as existed, far from the economic, social and general conditions, characteristic of village life. With the organization of kingdoms and governmental life the crude, unorganized village-life would comport ill with the Tamil rulers in their life of growing luxury and magnificence. The early Tamil literature (105) refers to Yavana women who "hand the Pandya ruler western-made wine in golden cups". These were foreign women, whether Greek, as the word is generally held to mean, or Arabian. Arguments for the latter meaning are presented by Aiyangar (106). It seems to have become a fashion with the Pandya rulers, as it had also become among rulers in Western and Upper India, to keep foreigners as their household troops, bodyguards and household servants. In the case of this particular Pandya ruler these latter were women. When the attitude of a ruler has changed enough to adopt things alien, he has travelled a long way from a simple village-life outlook. Such a settled attitude towards a foreign practice prepares the way and makes the mind more hospitable towards the adoption of other practices and ideas, foreign in their source.

In the second place the Vedic religious culture had much more in common with the dignity and magnificence of rulers than the

crude practices in connection with village worship. Vedic culture was aristocratic both in its spirit and purpose. Hence it was really adapted to the needs of rulers and also of such others as become attached to the courts of kings, and who, equally with the former, were zealous to establish themselves in aristocratic groups. There was a dignity, solemnity, and a magnificence about the Vedic ceremonies, especially the great sacrifices, which must have stood out in striking contrast to the wild, crude and orgiastic ceremonies in connection with the village cults. Tendencies such as the above would be certain to promote the Brahman and his religious culture in the courts of the Tamil kings.

Then again there are two deeply rooted impulses characteristic of human nature, which those high placed, such as rulers and others in authority, have a large opportunity to indulge: the pursuit and cultivation of the mysterious, and the desire to be different from others. The mysterious has a great attraction for the human, especially the mystery that comes from afar. The impulse to be different from others is also strong in human nature, and asserts itself again and again in many unexpected ways. Many rulers have continued their rule by surrounding themselves with mystery, and by creating and maintaining the impression that they are different from others. The trappery and pageantry of royal courts have tended to perpetuate this fiction. To-day, however, conditions are rapidly changing, especially in the West. But even yet these elements of court-life, so important for kings in the past, still exercise some such influence, as has been indicated. The Vedic culture, with its ceremonies and mantras in a foreign tongue, would tend to add to the court of a Tamil king some of the needed element of mystery and distinctiveness, which most kings of old sought to cultivate. One of the earliest known Pandyan kings (107) is known to fame as one who celebrated many sacrifices. A Chola king, contemporary of the poetess, Avvaiyar, is known by the title of "the Great Chola who celebrated the Rajasuya" (108). In one of the earliest of the Tamil classics (109), which has been made available only recently, a king is described as following the path of the Brahmans. Another king of this same dynasty is spoken of as one "not knowing obedience except to Brahmans". Other evidence, which might be cited, indicates that the Tamil kings had adopted the practice of getting sacrifices celebrated. These were performed by the Brahmans.

Still further, the Brahman, who brought this Vedic culture from the north, was such for the most part that he became recognized early as the model of a wise and virtuous man. This description, as Aiyangar points out (110), is given by poets who themselves were non-Brahmans. Brahmans are described further as those who learn and teach, sacrifice and conduct sacrifices for others, receive gifts made to them as well as give gifts to others. The Brahman was looked upon as the one who performed the sacri-

fices, which were intended for the good of the community as a whole. In both Tamil and Buddhistic tradition (111) there is the story of Agastya, the great Brahman ascetic, accompanied by a disciple, coming into the South. Aiyangar thinks that this tradition, connecting Agastya with the South, is of long standing and that it symbolizes the "breaking in of Aryan civilization into Tamil land". Those who came, whether connected with Agastya or not, were undoubtedly the more energetic, who were willing to endure hardship for the sake of spreading their religious culture. Those Brahmans, who were indolent and indifferent, would not be likely to have the desire, or the forward-looking spirit to endure the dangers of such distant journeyings. This would operate as a sifting process. Hence and for the most part it would be the nobler type among the Brahmans who would be the original carriers of the Vedic culture into the South. It is not without significance that the disreputable type of Brahman and ascetic does not appear in the literature of the South, as is the case in the North (112). This may be due in part to the paucity of the extant literature of the South. There doubtless were such. But the fact that they did not get into the available literature tends to deepen the conviction that the early arriving Brahmans in the South were of the finer type. During the dominance of Buddhism in the North there were doubtless some of Puritan spirit, who rather than give up their Vedic culture and Brahman philosophy, were willing to fare forth either on the long journey through the deep, vast jungles of Central India, which were infested by tigers and many other ferocious animals, or to endure the perils of pirates and robbers by sea.

However, great as may have been the initial advantage, into such the Brahman culture came in the South, it is difficult, in view of the data, to be convinced that in that early time it became integrated in the social inheritance of the masses, as some hold. At best it seems to have exercised a rather profound influence over the Tamil kings, the literary and other intellectual groups, which were attached to their courts. The masses in the villages, however, must have remained largely as they were. Whitehead refers (113) to a story in the village folklore. He obtained it through a manuscript, written on palm leaves, which was in the possession of a village temple ministrant. It reflects, he thinks, the effort of the Brahmans to supplant the worship of the village deities by the new cults. While this was in process a bad epidemic of smallpox or cholera, regarded as a punishment from the old village goddess, Ammavaru (now worshipped as Ankamma), broke out. This resulted in a revival of the primitive faith. It is of course difficult to know how far back this story goes Whitehead thinks that in all probability it preserves a tradition of some early relationship between Hinduism and the older worship of the village deities.

We turn now to the consideration of the Pallavas and the great part these rulers played in the development of both Shaivism and Vaishnavism. The great renaissance of Brahmanic religion and literature, which characterized the Gupta period in the North, found its reflex in the South during the age of the Pallavas with their center at Kanchi, the modern Conjeeveram.

Who were the Pallavas? This topic has received much attention. Until recently it was held generally that they were a tribal group of Persian or Parthian origins, which had secured a place for itself, first in the valley of the Indus. Then from there it worked its way slowly southward, becoming more and more Hinduized as it advanced. Finally it made Kanchi on the Kistna the center of its power. A recent article (114) suggests a Sinhalese-Tamil origin for the name Pallava; and on the other hand a Sprout and a Sinhalese-Naga origin for the dynasty. Aiyangar in an able discussion (115), has presented the case for a South India origin: an offshoot of the ancient Naga tribal group. Their ancestral home, called Tondamandalam, occupied certain of the districts around modern Madras. Their rulers, who at first were mere chieftains, throughout practically all of their history as a power in the South, which lasted from 200 A. D. to almost the close of the ninth century, remained the inveterate enemies of the Tamil kings. In the latter's language the term Pallava came to mean "rogue" (116). Some Pallavas, who came to be settled in the Chola and Pandya kingdoms, were called by a name which meant thieves. With the exception of perhaps one king, Nandi Varman, who belonged in the eighth or ninth century, the Pallavas were not patrons of Tamil culture (117).

Hostility also existed between the early Chalukyas and the Pallavas. The former, as successors of the Andhras, naturally desired to make their rule coterminous with that of the old Andhran empire. The latter sought to secure themselves against such aggression. It seems that the Pallavas extended their overlordship over the Gangas in Mysore. Like the late Andhra kings, the Pallavas were patrons of the Northern culture. Until late in the history of their dynasty their inscriptions were either in Prakrit or Sanskrit (118). Their earliest temples, even those located in caves, were devoted exclusively to the worship of Vishnu and Shiva. "Hence", to quote the words of Aiyangar, "the advent of the foreign Pallavas into the Tamil country not only meant the rule of the foreigner, but also carried along with it the special patronage of the culture of the North", as promoted by them in Sanskrit garb. Kanchi became such a center of Sanskrit culture that Mayura Sharma of the Kadambas found it necessary to go to this center to complete his Vedic studies (119). In this connection, Aiyangar presents evidence to show that in all probability Dandin and Bharavi were connected with this same center. One of the kings, Mahendravarman (some-

times Mahendravishnu) has a Sanskrit burlesque, ascribed to him (120). Aiyangar thinks that it may be taken not merely as evidence of the king's partiality towards Sanskrit, but the burlesque reflects something of religious conditions at that time. He ridicules the devotees of various cults. It is said that this king was first of all a Jain. Late in his life he is said to have become a Shaiva devotee, through the instrumentality of Appar, whose proper name was Tirunavukkarasu. He was one of the earliest of the Shaiva singers.

During this age of the Pallavas both Shaivism and Vaishnavism, as phases of the bhakti development, took definite shape. Aiyangar states (121) that the literature in Tamil bearing upon this development comes almost entirely from this period. Of the sixty-three early devotees of Shiva one of the earliest is the Chola king, Ko-Chengan, whom Aiyangar thinks must have followed the Sangam period very closely. All these devotees, he thinks (122), belong within the Pallava age. The earliest of them may reach back to the beginning of that time, while the latest belong not many generations after the fall of the Pallavas. Aiyangar places the Chola ruler Ko-Chengan in the early period of this age, Appar and Sambandar, to whom reference has already be made, in the seventh century, and the third group contains Sundaramurti, who comes in the early part of the ninth century. These latter three are recognized as the leaders of the bhakti development, as represented by the sixty-three devotees of Shiva. The oldest, Appar, left an orphan at an early age (123), was brought up by an elder sister as a devotee of Shiva. Later he forsook the faith of his ancestors and became a Jain. Later, however he returned to his ancestral faith. His younger contemporary, Sambandar, was born of a devout Shaiva, whose name means that his heart was laid at Shiva's feet. He lived in a town in the Tanjore District. His son grew up and became a pilgrim poet. He called his elder contemporary, Appar, which means "father". Sometimes with the latter and at other times alone, he wandered from temple to temple of Shiva throughout the Tamil country, singing the praises of his chosen deity. It is said (124) that in the early part of the seventh century the Shaiva faith was in eclipse, being overshadowed in the Tamil country by both Jainism and Buddhism. It suffered an even greater blow when the king of Madura of that time, along with many of his subjects, became Jains. However, from Sambandar's hymns we learn that the queen and her prime minister remained faithful to Shiva. They called for Sambandar, who in the royal presence in court, and with many Jains about him, overcame the latter in argument. As a result the king returned to his former faith. The sequel, according to tradition and which Aiyangar questions, is that with the consent of this Shaiva saint the king impaled some eight thousand stubborn Jains, who would not renounce their faith. This saint is connected with a similar experience in which

it is said he converted a crowd of Buddhists to Shaivism. Whatever residuum of truth there may be in these traditions they at least bear witness to the fact that these stories arose out of a social situation in which there was a struggle going on among these faiths in the Tamil country. It is said that this Shaiva saint is known to posterity as one of those who helped to sing Buddhism out of South India. The third, Sundaramurti, called also Sundarar, a Brahman, was born in the South Arcot District. He had two wives. Neither was a Brahman. Hence he must have been rather indifferent about caste regulations. One of them was a dancing girl in the Shaiva temple at Tiruvarur in Tanjore District. The other was a Velala woman from a suburb of Madras. One reason for considering this Shaiva saint as the last of the sixty-three, is the fact that he sang the praises of the other sixty-two. Their hymns in praise of Shiva, sung by these three saints, were collected by Nambi Andar Nambi, who lived in the eleventh century. They are called Devaram (Tevaram in Tamil), the first collection of works recognized as canonical by the Tamil Shaivas.

Aiyangar calls attention to the fact that some have held that Shaivism had South India's allegiance first. Later Vaishnavism came as an interloper and an imitator of the older faith and thereby won for itself "a place in the sun". This author in one of his earlier works (125), maintains that the early literature does not confirm such a judgment. In the age of the Pallavas, which follows closely the period of the Sangam, these two developments of Hinduism flourished side by side in the South. Mahendravarman, to whom reference has been made already, built temples to both Vishnu and Shiva (126). In several of his cave shrines all the three great Hindu deities: Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva, receive equal honour. In this writer's most recent work (127), he presents evidence to show that "almost at the beginning of the Christian era the features of northern Vaishnavism in all its variety were prevalent in the South". One of the oldest South India shrines (128) is dedicated to Krishna worship. Kaveripattanam, which was the capital of the Cholas in the first century of the Christian era, contains among its early temples those which are dedicated to Krishna and Baladeva. Similar temples are found in Madura also where these deities are associated with Shiva and Subrahmanya. These four deities are the ones, mentioned by Narkirar, who is reputed to have been the president of the third Sangam of Madura. Furthermore Aiyangar, in an earlier volume (129), states that there is ample evidence concerning Rama's being identified with Vishnu, even by the earliest of the Alvars. Kulusekhara, who was one of them, has a summary of the Ramayana.

These Alvars, reputed to have been twelve in number, were to the revival of Vaishnavism in the South what the Adiyars were to Shaivism. They were poet-saints. The term "Alvar", so Radha-

krishnan informs us (130), means "immersed in deity", which in their case meant Vishnu, or one of his incarnations. The greatest of these, Nam-Alvar by name, was a Shudra. According to Aiyangar (131), the age of the Alvars and their activities extend from about 200 to 800 A. D. It will be seen that they were practically contemporaneous with the Adiyars of Shaivism. Their manner of worship seems to have been practically identical with the latter: a fervent devotion, rising often to the intensity of frenzy, as they danced and sang before the image of their deity. They are divided according to time into three groups: the early, the middle, and the later. Poygai-Alvar, who is reputed to belong to the first group, Aiyangar thinks is connected with the early Tondaman chieftain of Kanchi, who lived about the same time as the great Chola king, Karikala, who, according to Rapson's statement (132), must have flourished about the close of the first century A. D., or in the earlier part of the next century. Two others of the first group are also connected with Kanchi. Bhaktisara, it is held by Aiyangar, shows in his stanzas, written in praise of Vishnu, unmistakable evidence of an acquaintance with Sanskrit literature of the time. Nam-Alvar belongs in the middle group. It is he, who is regarded as the outstanding one among the early Vaishnava devotees. This estimate relates both to the character of his teaching and to the volume of his hymn production. His date has occasioned a good deal of discussion. Some scholars would place him last of all. Aiyangar has presented arguments (133), giving him an earlier date. According to tradition, his teaching was taken down by another. His collection of hymns is called Tiruvaymoli, which may be rendered literally as "the word of the mouth". Aiyangar holds (134) that this refers to the Vedas, which are supposed to have emanated originally by word of mouth from Vishnu. These hymns in praise of Vishnu and his incarnations became incorporated in a collection known as "Prabandham, Four Thousand". These Prabandhas are the Vaishnava Vedas. Among these the teaching of Nam-Alvar is the most highly revered. In their teaching two features stand out prominently: first, the way of bhakti is open to all, and second the necessity of a guru, if one would be sure about attaining salvation. This last feature seems to have become associated with the name of Nam-Alvar. It is not improbable, as Aiyangar points out, that earlier than this there were those who performed such functions. However, it was not until this phase of the Vaishnava development arose that the guru idea emerged into prominence. This same type of development takes place in Shaivism in the case of Mannika-Vasahar, to whom reference will be made later.

In the development of bhakti the emergence of the practice and later the conception and recognized function of the guru is inevitable. At first bhakti was simple. But with its growth new

elements and alien accretions from other faiths would become attached to it. Then the necessity for the systematizing of its technique of worship, as well as its thinking would arise. Hence the necessity would then arise for a special class to guide in all such matters. In time upon this guide would fall the responsibility of seeing that all his disciples attained the salvation they sought. Then, by easy stages of practice and thinking, the attitude of self-surrender to the guru as well as to the chosen deity would in time arise and become a recognized part of the cult. This is just what happened, and among the Vaishnavas this guru came to bear the name of Acharya, to which added reference will be made in the following chapter. In course of time Kulasekhara, a king of Travancore, and five others follow Nam-Alvar in succession. Aiyangar presents arguments (135) to show that he ought to be placed at the opening of the tenth century, rather than as late as the middle of the twelfth century, according to Bhandarkar (136). The tradition is: that early in his career as ruler he became attached to the Vaishnava school of bhakti and was especially interested in having the Ramayana read to him (137). Tirumangai-Alvar, the last of the Alvars, was, according to tradition, an important officer in the Chola kingdom. We are told that he sought to establish an annual festival at Shrirangam where the people might recite the works of Nam-Alvar. However, if we can trust the tradition, he was not successful. The works of this great Alvar seem to have been forgotten, until later they were revived by the first of the Acharyas.

It is a matter of no small significance that Shankaracharya belongs in the last third of the Adiyar and Alvar period. His date has been hitherto the occasion of much controversy. However, the time of his activity is now placed in the first half of the ninth century. In North Travancore at Kaladi in the year 788 A. D. this great Vedantic scholar saw the light. After becoming a sannyasi he assumed the name of Shankara. In order to appraise properly his work and the extent of his influence in moulding the thinking of later Hinduism it is necessary to turn back and refer to the Vedanta Sutras.

This body of Vedantic literature is also called the Brahma and the Shariraka Sutras. They are attributed to Badarayana. But in reality they represent a long series of attempts to set forth the philosophy of the Upanishads. Thibaut has called attention to the names of seven others, mentioned in the Sutras (138). Although the time at which they were put together cannot be stated with certainty, yet it is generally recognized as sometime prior to the second century B. C. According to Thibaut they combine two tasks (139): first that of stating concisely the doctrine of the Upanishads, and secondly of argumentatively establishing that interpretation of the Veda, which has been adopted in this body of literature. However, like the Sutra type, these laconic phrases have produced a

great crop of commentaries with varying interpretations, with the result, as pointedly stated by Urquhart (140), that this "brevity has brought about the surrender of the Sutras into the hands of the commentators.....so the emphasis gets shifted to the latter".

Although many commentaries were written upon these Sutras before the time of Shankara, yet his is the oldest extant. Farquhar, moreover, calls attention to the fact (141) that previous to Badarayana's day there existed at least three distinct views of the relation of the individual soul to Brahman, which had found expression; and which later were incorporated in commentaries on the Sutras. Urquhart traces historical connection between Shankara and the Mandukya Upanishad (142). Gaudapada, the reputed author of the appendix to this Upanishad, which is called Mandukya Karika, was the teacher of Shankara's teacher, whom his pupil describes as "a teacher knowing the true tradition of the Vedanta". According to Shankara the Sutras teach that Brahman is the only reality, absolute unity, devoid of all differences and qualifications. Hence the practice of ascribing qualities to Him is an illusion, as is also all phenomena. The only true knowledge, and it is this, which according to Shankara, brings salvation, is that which rises above all multiplicity and qualifications to the undifferentiated unity. This is the sole reality both of knower and known. Hence in Shankara we have unqualified monism, which is called advaita. However, it is felt that his position is nearer to the Upanishads than to the Sutras of Badarayana (143).

He produced commentaries on the Gita and on the principal Upanishads. Many other works also have been ascribed to him (144). His influence was very great in his own lifetime, and has continued so down to the present. He travelled widely throughout India and carried on many controversies. He is said to have reorganized the Vedanta ascetic orders into ten groups, whom he found in grave disorder. This is in keeping with the claims of the Dasnamis of to-day. However, his influence seems to have reached beyond the orthodox circles (145).

The highly emotional worship of the Shaiva and Vaishnava saints, which had begun to bear the marks of a popular movement, was at the other extreme from the cold intellectualism of the great Vedantic philosopher. It would not be surprising, did we but possess the facts, to discover that the new phase in the bhakti development, with its outstanding emphasis on personal deity, was in no small measure a vigorous reaction to the growing intellectualization of Hinduism through the development of Vedantic thought, which had been going forward for sometime, and which at that time had found in Shankara a great new exponent. It would seem, however, as though Shankara's widespread popularity and influence would indicate that his system of thinking really met a need in many widely separated groups among his countrymen. But to the rank

and file as well as to many of the intellectually inclined a distant and de-personalized deity could not satisfy human needs. We have already seen this in the religious development in an earlier period in the North, which has been traced already. If more literary documents of the South were extant and available so that we could find our way back into the social situation and into more of the social inheritance of the period we are now discussing, we should find in all probability that there was a distinct relation of action and reaction between the Vedantic development, which headed up in Shankara, and the seemingly more popular religious movement represented by the Shaiva and Vaishnava poet-saints. Both belonged in the same areas as well as in the same period. Moreover the observation of Dr. Urquhart regarding the relationship of these two developments encourages one in the conviction just stated. "The Vedantic philosophy", he states (146), "consisted in turning away from ordinary experience...and resulted in a view of life which emptied our ordinary occupations of their importance. It thus failed entirely to satisfy the masses. It was inevitable, therefore, that there should be a reaction in favour of a more emotional religion...and we might say that the intellectual and abstract type of religion failed to satisfy a large part of human nature, and, therefore, an emotional grew up along side of it and persisted, not so much in spite of it as because of it.....the way was clear for the overflow and expression of the warm feeling native in the bhakti religions. Pantheistic abstraction had dismissed the claims of personality, but these were emphasized again in the various devotions of polytheism, which peopled the empty world with innumerable creations of fancy". And again (147), "the effect of the Vedantic conception of ordinary experience is to diminish the reality and therefore the importance of this experience,.....the phenomenal becomes a matter of indifference, and the imagination may run riot within it and invent any number of gods under the influence of emotional fervour. The content of belief ceases to be normative and the whole stress is laid upon the subjective and emotional attitude. The intensity of feeling becomes all-important, and the worshipper may develop unrestrained the resources of feeling, allowing free play to the admittedly vivifying influence of the feeling upon imagination".

The hymns of both the Shaiva and Vaishnava saints of this period under review are filled with expressions indicative of this unrestrained emotional fervour. Tears flow as the devotee gazes upon the image of his chosen deity. He may fall upon his face on the floor of the temple in sheer rapture from beholding before him the eyes of his chosen deity. Mannika-Vasahar attached so much importance to this wild, unrestrained emotion in worship that upon one occasion his worst self-reproach was this: there was no frenzy in his emotion as he bowed before the image of Shiva.

It is not without significance that the hymns of this writer exhibit a dislike for Vedantic thought, which, as Farquhar observes, must mean Shankara's Mayavada. To the Shaiva singer, deity was vividly personal. How would it be possible for him to have anything else but a dislike for Shankara's unqualified monism ?

This particular Shaiva saint was their greatest. His date still remains somewhat uncertain. However, most scholars place him either in the ninth century, or in the early part of the tenth, making him thereby almost a contemporary of Shankara (148). He was a man of parts, enjoying the position of minister to a Pandya king. There is a tradition that his royal master sent him to make large purchases of horses for cavalry purposes. However, on the way to discharge his commission he met up with a party of Shaiva devotees. He felt the call so deeply to become one of them that he forthwith forsook his king's charge, spending the money given him in acts of devotion and charity. For this he received severe punishment from the king. However, later he was allowed to go free and follow his life-choice. After visiting some of the most important Shaiva temples, he settled in Chidambaram for a time, where, it is said, he overcame in controversy a large body of Buddhists, who had come from Ceylon (149). His poems (150), we are told, mark him as a man of culture, and one "who entered fully into the heritage of the work of those who preceded him". He laid under tribute not only his own Tamil literature, the local colouring and customs of Tamil land, but also the Epic, Puranic and Agamic literary materials. He used this all to work up the mass of legendary material, connected with his chosen deity. This deity, as pictured and visualized by his worshippers, has a human form. "One of his most favourite manifestations in the South is that of Nataraja, the dancer, in the great hall at Chidambaram" (151). He is represented in the act of dancing with his right foot on a demon, called Muyalahan. This feature of the deity has a history, did we but know it. It would not be surprising to learn that it has historical connections with someone or other of the wild, ceremonial dances of the village cults. Shiva in the attitude of a dancer must have been highly suggestive to those early devotees. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that their worship consisted of dancing, as well as singing, before the images and shrines of their chosen deity. The Alvars also followed this practice.

The hymns of Mannika-Vasahar, which are known as the Tiruvachakam, or "Sacred Utterance", while they partake of the same general nature as those of the Devaram, yet occupy a much more intimate place in the affections and reverence of the Tamil people, than the latter. We are told (152), that the charm of all these hymns "depends upon assonance, play upon words, close knitting of word with word, upon intricacy of metre and rhyme,

almost as much as upon substance". In making an appeal "straight to the heart" (153), the work of Mannika-Vasahar "excels all others both in form and in feeling".

Another important related fact ought to be mentioned: this Pallave age was a time when a great many temples were built in the South. Aiyangar considers it possible (154) to trace to this period the history of not a few of the great temples in the Tamil country. The Shaiva temples especially are associated with the name of the Chola king, Ko-Chengan. He built temples to Vishnu also. This great interest in temple building, which marked this age, is but one of the evidences of its remarkable religious unrest and awakening.

The origins of the image and temple-worship is a most interesting question, which is still dark with many problems. Are these origins Dravidian (155), as Farquhar affirms in an interesting and suggestive note, or are they from outside India? In an early Roman road-map there is reference to a Roman temple to Augustus at Muziris, one of the famous trading-ports of the Chera kingdom at the opening of the Christian era. We have seen already that the Tamil rulers in the early Christian centuries adopted other practices from the West. Did they copy the West in this matter also? They as well as the Pallavas were great temple builders. It is stated (156) that pre-Buddhistic India has no trace of temples. In fact it is not until the time of the Epics and Sutras that we meet with image and temple-worship in Hindu literature (157). It is in association with Buddhistic religious practice that we find the earliest religious edifices. These, however, are not used to house images, but rather to care for some Buddhist relic. Did Buddhism bring this practice from the South, whither it went early, or did it come in from the north-west through Greek influence and the Gandhara art development? More data must become available before a matured judgment can be offered to such questions. This much at least is quite clear that the origins are non-Aryan. Unmistakable evidence to this is discoverable in the Brahman literature. For example, a fact to which Dr. Farquhar makes reference (158): side by side with detailed instructions for the performance of the sacrificial ritual, which are given in the Kalpasutras, there is nothing with reference to the conduct of temple worship. Then again at a later time when the sectarian development began it was counted unorthodox to worship either Vishnu or Shiva by means of image, or temple. All this points unmistakably to non-Aryan origins for the beginnings of this religious technique.

This temple-and-image development was undoubtedly a very influential factor in promoting the great religious quickening of this time. Temple worship, moreover, tends to become congregational, especially on the great festival occasions. At this time the South, especially Tamil land, had a great company of itinerant

Vaishnava and Shaiva poet-singers, who make the temples of their deities resonant with music and song in their own vernacular. Great crowds in the act of worship before a temple, or image of their deity are highly suggestible, and never more so than when the great acts of their habituated worship are being performed by leaders with rhythmical singing, music and dancing with a "fine frenzy rolling". It is really hard to overestimate the importance of this feature of the South India temple worship in preparing the way for Ramanuja and the long line of bhakti leaders who followed him. Out of highly intensified emotional situations, such as these, arose the new development in bhakti.

In concluding this very cursory survey of the earlier portion (the latter portion will be the principal concern of the chapter following) of South India's share in later phases of the bhakti development, which brings us down to the close of the Pallava period, it becomes necessary to set down in summary at least the principal conclusions, which have come from a study of the data of this chapter. While it has been confessedly difficult, for reasons already indicated, to reach back behind the literary documents and inscriptional material in order to lay hold of the salient features, both of the early indigenous inheritance and of the modifications which came to the latter through the incoming of the religious culture from the North, yet it would appear that some, certain general statements may be set down with a high degree of assurance that they indicate the more important facts in the early religious development in the South.

In the first place the early, indigenous, religious culture of the village-cult-stage in the South was much more intimately connected with the soil and agriculture, than was the case with the early Vedic of the North. The fundamental structure of the latter's early religious culture seems to have taken shape and hardened into considerable rigidity while domestic animals, rather than the soil and agriculture, were focal as the principal source of their food-supply. The early, Vedic, religious culture bears marks of being the culture of a people, who were "on the march", with no certain dwelling-place, or in other words at the shepherd-stage of general culture. Whereas the early, indigenous, religious culture of the South is characteristic of a people, settled, rather than wandering, and also in the agricultural-stage of general culture. It is not without significance that the South Dravidians had no hereditary priesthood. A priesthood that becomes hereditary tends early to cause crystallization and rigidity in a religious culture at an early stage. This crystallization and rigidity are increased greatly when a people, like the Aryans, migrate with their priesthood and religious culture into a foreign land where they are greatly outnumbered by others, in a different stage of culture and possessing another religion. The religious culture, carried from the

distant father-land, and especially when promoted by an hereditary priesthood, takes on a much more rigid "set" in the social inheritance than would be the case otherwise. Circumstances, such as these, tend to give a people a religious culture, which in its fundamental structure bears the marks of a more primitive-stage of general culture, which they have long since outgrown in practically all phases of their general culture.

Since the soil and agriculture are central in the South India village-cult, the second important feature is, as we might expect, the earth-mother. She, with all the related religious technique and notions concerning fertility and the generation of new life and a new food-supply, is much more prominent in the village-cult of the South than in the early, Vedic culture. This feature appears to have come into the Northern culture much later. At least it is much later before it gets into the literature (159). It is difficult to state what part, if any, the Northern aborigines played in integrating the earth-mother cult in the Aryan, religious culture. The worship of the earth as mother was certainly current among the former in North India in earlier time, as it is to-day (160). It is more probable, however, that the greater influence in this process of integration came from the South. The latter Dravidians had reached a higher stage of culture when they came into contact with the Aryans, than was the case with those of the North, for reasons which have been indicated in a previous chapter (161). Moreover the Tantric elements, which grew out of the earth-mother cult, came into Hinduism quite late, at a time contemporaneous with the great religious awakening, which followed upon the work of the Adiyars and Alvars of the South. It is highly probable, as stated already, that this integration came by way of Buddhism. This earth-mother worship is of such a character that it lends itself to a highly emotional development with certain erotic elements. The bhakti attitude, directed even towards a male deity, tends to pass over into the erotic when it reaches a certain intensity of fervour. Not a few of the hymns of the Adiyars and Alvars, both in their phraseology and in the attitudes towards deity of which they are expressive, bear marks that are distinctly erotic in character. This attitude of fervent devotion, which arose out of the religious quickening and inspiration fostered by the methods of worship of these poet-singers, created the religious atmosphere out of which such a work as the Bhagavata Purana arose.

This all leads naturally to a third important feature of the religious development in the South: the great popularity of temple-worship. This is an outstanding characteristic of its early development. The temples of the South have architectural characteristics, which make them quite distinct from those of the North. This would seem to indicate that this development is independent of the latter. Moreover there are characteristics of the worship also which

seem to point to separate origins. For example, personal worship is permitted in the temples in the North, whereas it is not in the South (162). Does this not go to show that temple-worship in the North was a late arrival, whereas in the South it took its beginnings at a much earlier stage in the history of its religious development? Farquhar, in his suggestive note, referred to above, remarks that the cult of the early Aryan "consisted of the sacrifices, and these were private and personal, and were carried on within a man's house, or domains, or wherever the performance was desirable". The temple-worship tends to become congregational and hence more attractive than the sacrificial cult. Hence the former grows in later Hinduism at the expense of the latter. In the permission extended to the individual worshipper in the temple-worship in the North do we not see a compromise between the old and deeply rooted individualistic sacrificial cult-worship and the later arriving temple-worship with its congregational tendencies? Available data are not sufficient for one to be sure about such a question, but there are certainly grounds for making such a suggestion as to what probably took place. This, however, is clear: that temple-worship was one of the characteristic religious developments of the South. A much more careful study of the whole temple development in India, than has hitherto been undertaken, is necessary before one can be sure how much of the later temple-worship development in the North is due to influences emanating from the South India temple-worship, which marked the Tamil and Pallava ages.

These three features, stated above, seem to have been the outstanding characteristics of the indigenous religious culture of the South. They all, whether taken separately, or together are such inherently as would give rise to a warm emotional worship, and would both create and foster an atmosphere productive of a bhakti attitude of the highly emotional type.

It becomes necessary now to indicate in general at least the modifications, which came to this indigenous culture through the incoming of the Aryan type from the North. In the first place the influence of Jainism and Buddhism has reached out into the village-cult in the Tamil country, where a certain prominent village deity is no longer worshipped with animal sacrifices (163). It is true that we cannot state how early or late this modification began. Nevertheless it is at least a result of the "ahimsa" attitudes and notions becoming integrated in the social inheritance of the Tamil South. However, it would appear that on the whole the Aryan culture did not exercise any outstanding influence upon the village-cults. Even down to the present they seem to have continued largely as they have been for many centuries.

However, with what one might call the cultural classes, such as the rulers, the wise men, called "arivars", and the land-owning

class (164), the influence of the Northern culture, even preceding the age of the Pallavas, must have been profound. Moreover this influence, especially of the Brahman, seems to have been greater in proportion to the degree of existing, indigenous culture. Tamil land had an indigenous culture of an antiquity higher than that of the others, and it is clearly in these areas where the early influence of Aryan culture was most potent, especially the Brahman phase of it. The Brahman especially seems to have been the organizer of the literature and religious culture of the Tamil country. In fact the Brahman religious culture had much more in common with the indigenous religious culture, than was the case with the other two alien faiths. Furthermore, the Brahman culture, with its aristocratic spirit and purpose, lent itself more to the dignity and ambitions of kings, than was the case with the former. Again the Brahman's learning and piety were such that very early indeed he found an honoured place, both in the councils of kings and among the wise. It is highly probable, even though it is difficult to lay one's hands on specific proof, that all three phases of Aryan religious culture from the North had much to do with the growing intellectualization of religion in the South, which grew apace with the Vedantic development, and headed up towards the close of this period in the great Shankaracharya. Data sufficient are not available to enable us to know how influential and dominating this type of religious development became at this time in the Tamil country. However, social psychology and sociology would suggest the high probability of some connection between this type of religious development, promoted by Shankara, and that of the poet-singers: the one being a reaction to the other. This is about as far as one may go with safety in view of the paucity of data which are able to assist one in reconstructing imaginatively the background of social inheritance and social situations behind the extant documents. We turn now to consider the principal religious leaders and literature, which arose out of this surcharged bhakti atmosphere.

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CHAPTER V

EARLY LITERATURE AND LEADERS OF THE VAISHNAVA REVIVAL.

It was a significant day in the growth of Vaishnavism in the South when the hymns of the Shaiva and Vaishnava saints were introduced as part of the ritual of temple-worship. It is difficult to overestimate the great impetus which this gave to the later bhakti development. This new feature in the temple-worship seems to have become prevalent during the period which extends roughly from the fall of the Pallava power to the fall of the Empire of Vijayanagar. It is the Vaishnava feature of this development, particularly the Rama phase, with which this chapter will be concerned.

The term "Vaishnava" is applied to that group of sects among the Hindus in which Vishnu, in some one or other of his special forms, is worshipped. Crooke holds (1) that this worship of Vishnu ought not to be confused with the orthodox worship paid to him, as their individual patron deity, by the higher classes of Hindus.

The Vaishnava faith has developed along several lines according as the object of devotion has differed. Vishnu varies in his incarnations. The incarnation notion is a religious technique such as lends itself readily to the absorption of primitive cults. For example, Basdeo and Purushottama are held to be mountain deities, primitive in character (2). These both have become absorbed within the Vishnu cult. Then again Vithoba, or Vitthal of Pandharpur, made famous through the devotion and poems of the great, Marathi, bhakti saint, Tukaram (3), is believed to have been originally the local cult of a deified Brahman, who became accepted as an incarnation of Vishnu (4). Jacobi has noted (5) that most of the cults that have become merged in Vaishnavism although non-Brahmanical in origins, yet in the end became Brahmanized. Such cults arose originally from household or special deities, which belonged to various classes and castes, Brahman groups not excluded. He thinks that their identification with Vishnu was probably the result of Brahman activity. In this way these cults were given a status, which otherwise they in all probability would never have acquired. This scholar thinks that it was the acceptance of the Brahmanical theology by these various un-Brahmanical Vaishnava cults, which gave the latter legitimacy in the Brahman scheme of things. Hence Vishnu became one with the Supreme Brahman of the Upanishads. Reference has been made already to this earliest development.

Another general feature of the religious life from the opening of the Christian centuries onward is the development of sectarian movements and their accompaniment: the sectarian spirit. We have seen how both Epic and Puranic materials have been utilized to promote sectarianism. This growth of sectarian practice and spirit may be noted also in the temple-worship. Some temples, however, permitted the worship of the five great deities. But others were exclusive in their worship. As has been noted already, the temple-ritual is non-Aryan in origins (6). There was a group who by means of temple and image-worship began to give Vishnu their exclusive devotion. Another group took a similar attitude towards Shiva. Patanjali (7) calls the latter "Shivabhagavatas" and refers to the emphasis they gave to image-worship. Hence it was inevitable, as Farquhar notes (8), that the sectarianism of the worshippers of these two deities should be condemned. The ritual of their worship was non-Vedic. Moreover their worship was not of all the gods, but of one alone. From this time forward we have within the fold of Hinduism two main groups: the orthodox, who adhere to the old, Vedic, religious culture and its worship of many deities. Then on the other hand there are the sectarians, who are exclusive in their worship and who follow a religious technique, which is non-Aryan in origins. Of the Vaishnava phase of this sectarian development the Bhagavadgita and later the Vedanta Sutras became their earlier authoritative texts. Reference to these has been made in the two previous chapters. They are noted now merely as registering stages in the earlier development of Vaishnavism.

Although the incarnations of Vishnu are many, yet the two most popular are Krishna and Rama. Extended reference has been made already to the former. Attention will now be given to the latter. Rapson is inclined to believe (9) that the story of the Ramayana has its origins in the later Brahmana period. In the time of the Buddha the Videhas, together with the Licchavis of Vaishali and other powerful clans, established a confederation known as the Vrijis. Crooke also holds (10) that the original form of the Ramayana of Valmiki is based upon pre-Buddhistic materials. Its kernel, he thinks, was composed probably before 500 B. C. The more recent portion, he thinks, belongs in the second century B. C. and later. The cult of Rama is described in the Vishnu Purana, which latter belongs in the Gupta period.

Valmiki's original work consisted of five books. To these an introductory and a concluding book have been added. In the former of these two later additions, Vishnu has not yet been exalted to the Supreme. He is rather one among the three, the other two being Shiva and Brahma. In the original work Rama, a noble, unselfish leader, is set forth along with his faithful wife, Sita, in such captivating phraseology and picture language as to capture

the love of the Indian people to a remarkable degree. Such a preparation in the minds of the people and the accompanying incarnation religious technique, which had long since become a part of the social inheritance, made the process of Rama's exaltation to deity-hood a very easy and rapid one.

According to Aiyangar (11) there are references to Ceylon in Tamil literature, which are earlier even than the Buddhist tradition. These are associated with the Ramayana. In an early poem by a poet of Madura, named Kaduvan Mallanar, there is a reference to the foreshore of the boisterous sea, where Rama held his council. Another early poet, Unpodi Pasum-Kodaiyar, refers to the abduction of Sita by Ravana. Again in the Silappadhikaram (12) there are references to three incidents in this epic story: first, Rama's going to the forest at the order of his father, second his sorrow caused by the abduction of his wife, and lastly Rama and Lakshmana's sojourn in the forest and the destruction of Lanka. In the Manimekhalai (13) there is a reference to the building of the bridge of Rama. It would seem that those for whom these poems were written must have been familiar with the Ramayana even to the extent of knowing many of its details.

How came the Ramayana to be known so early in the Tamil country? The question was raised in a previous chapter as to the possibility of the Jains' playing a part in its spread southward (14). As looking in this direction it may be recalled that the Ramayana epic grew up in the areas from whence both Jainism and Buddhism arose. Moreover it is not without significance that the oldest Prakrit poem of the Jains, the Padma-Charita, of Vimala Suri, which has been edited lately by Jacobi, and which this scholar places in the third century A. D., is a story dealing with the same characters as are in the Ramayana. Furthermore Panini, Patanjali and Amarasinha, who all lived in North-West India, never mention the characters of the Ramayana; whereas on the other hand those of the Mahabharata receive their attention. Among both the Jains and the Buddhists, versions of the Ramayana story exist. These differ from those which bear the stamp of Brahmanism. For example, the Buddhists have a Dasharatha Jataka, which makes no mention of Ravana. A Jain version of this epic, called the Pampa Ramayana, belongs to the South, written by one Abhinava Pampa, who in all probability belonged to a group of poets at the court of Vishnuvardhana. The latter died in 1141 A. D. (15). In the early years of his rule he was a zealous Jain. He urged his minister, Gangaraja, to restore the Jain temples which had been destroyed by the Chola rulers, followers of Shiva, who raided the former's territories. At this time his name was Bitti Deva, which Bhandarkar holds is probably the corruption of Vitthala or Vitthi. It is said that about the beginning of the twelfth century, after coming under the influence of Ramanuja, he became a Vaishnava devotee.

This was marked by the change of his name. The balance of his reign was characterized by the erection of many temples to his new deity, which are described as "of unsurpassed magnificence". Stories are current that he persecuted his former fellow-religionists. This is denied by some. It is not without significance that one of his wives, as well as one of his daughters, was a Jain (16). The proper name of the Pampa version is Ramachandra-charitra-purana. Its whole atmosphere is Jain (17). All the characters are Jain and India appears as a Jain country. Rama and Lakshmana are not incarnations of Vishnu. There is also a wide difference in many minor details. There are other Jain versions of the Ramayana, such as the Kumudendu Ramayana in Kanarese, which is placed at about 1275 A. D. The story, in much briefer form, is found in a Purana called Chavunda Raya, which is placed in 978 A. D. (18), and also in Nayasena's Dharmamrita (1112 A. D.) and Nagaraja's Punyashrava, which is placed in 1331 A. D. It will be recalled that the first literary work in Malayalam is a thirteenth century version of this epic (19). This all goes to show the early currency of the Rama story in some form or other in the social inheritance of the Tamil countries of the South. Furthermore, though specific evidence is lacking as yet, the present available data inclines one strongly to the conviction that the Jains, and perhaps the Buddhists also, had not a little to do with carrying the Rama epic into the South.

At this point it becomes necessary to pick up again the threads of the changing political conditions in the South, succeeding the fall of the Pallava power; and also to trace in particular those phases of this development, which have to do with the Vaishnava revival, up to and including the age of the Vijayanagar Empire.

During the seventh century the Pallavas were sore pressed by both branches of the Chalukyas. In this humbling of the once proud Pallava power the Rashtrakutas also had a share. As a result little more is heard of the Pallava power by the close of the tenth century. In the eleventh century the Eastern Chalukyas became weakened by internal dissensions. During this same century, however, the Western Chalukya power became triumphant once more throughout the whole of the Deccan from the western coastal regions to the western confines of the Eastern Chalukyas. They had many powerful ancient families as their vassals, such as the Kadambas and the Rattas. On the east coast, north of the Eastern Chalukyas, the Gangas were in control of the ancient Kalinga areas. The Mysore country, which was still greatly broken up politically, was in large measure in the hands of the Western Gangas. These latter, however, had become much weakened and robbed of not a little of their territory by the Cholas, who were now rising into great prominence. The Pandyas were still in authority within their ancient territories. However, at the end of the twelfth century the Cholas

were practically supreme in the South, ruling over the Pallava as well as their own hereditary territories. Nevertheless, the Pandyas still held their own within their old boundaries, with Madura as their capital. On the east coast to the north of the Cholas lay the Warangal Ganapatis, who had seized the Telugu territories, controlled earlier by the Eastern Chalukyas. North of the former lay the kingdom of Orissa. In the Deccan itself the scenes had shifted. The Yadavas of Deogiri on the north and the Hoysalas on the south were locked in a fierce struggle for supremacy. While still farther west the Rattas and Kadambas were struggling for the control of the lower Konkan.

When the thirteenth century opened the Yadavas and the Hoysalas claim the chief attention. After the fall of the Chalukyas, which left the former independent, they attacked the Hoysalas. These latter were in great power in the beginning of the thirteenth century. But they became hard-pressed by the Yadavas, and in turn sought to crush the Cholas to the south of them. What the Hoysalas seemed to have lost in the north to the Yadavas they gained in the south from the Cholas. The Yadava ruler, Ramachandra—the name itself is suggestive of the growing interest in Rama—lived until 1309. He succeeded in seizing the Hoysalas' old capital. His territory extended over that which was once controlled by the Western Chalukyas, also over the Konkan and a portion of Mysore. Warangal lay on his eastern borders. With the Cholas on the south he was at peace. However, a new enemy had begun to appear on his northern frontiers. The Mohammedans had already begun to push down from north of the Vindhyas. In 1294 Ala-ud-din Khilji, who was a nephew of the Delhi emperor, Jalal-ud-din, with a small body of cavalry appeared suddenly at Ramachandra's capital, Deogiri. It was thought that these were but the advance guard of a great host, following. Hence the king timorously acceded to the demands of these free-booters, paid an immense sum as ransom and promised annual payments in addition, as well as ceding certain of his Ellichpur dependencies.

In 1307 Malik Kafur, the officer of Ala-ud-din, who now had himself become emperor, having accused Ramachandra of non-payment of his tribute, proceeded against Deogiri with an army. The king was seized and carried off to Delhi. After a time he was returned and in 1309 entertained this same officer in his capital when the latter, under orders from the emperor, was on his way to attack Warangal, which he conquered. A little later this same officer returned again to the Deccan to find Ramachandra dead and his son, Samkara, reigning in his stead. During this campaign he marched as far south as Mysore, capturing its temple city of Dorasamudra, expelling the Hoysalas therefrom. It is said that he overcame the Pandyas completely and in their ancient capital, Madura, Mohammedan rulers held control for almost a half century. In 1327

Mohammad Tughlak completed the reduction of the Hoysala power. From this time the whole of the Deccan lay at the mercy of these Mohammedan, free-booter conquerors. During this time the whole of the Deccan was laid waste, its temples and capital cities were plundered. This vast wealth was carried away to Delhi. While the southern kingdoms after this wholesale devastation continued their existence, it was largely in name.

However, this whirlwind of destruction from the North although it resulted in filling the whole South with terror and red ruin, yet it had a much more far-reaching significance in that it was the means of uniting the southern kingdoms, which for several centuries, as we have just noted, had been struggling for advantage among themselves. They now coalesced under the leadership of two brothers, zealous for Hinduism and its temple-worship. These two brothers, whose origins seem to be unknown, were known as Harihara and Bukka. This movement against the Mohammedans, which they led, was saturated with the spirit of nationalism and the sentiments of religion (20). The effort was to save Hinduism, regardless of its internal sectarian differences. In a few years these two brothers, securing the allegiance of all the old kingdoms of the South, established an empire and founded the great city of Vijayanagar, which is said to be (21) "probably the largest and wealthiest city ever occupied by Hindus". This Empire was instrumental in keeping the Mohammedans of the North "at bay" for some two hundred years. These rulers, who may have been Kanarese by birth (22), took the Kanarese title of Raya, instead of Raja.

After the first struggles for the dislodgment of the Mohammedan forces and rule from the South had been completed successfully, the first task was the organization of the social and political life of this new power to meet its great military needs. The Empire was organized into great military viceroyalties, which were called maharajyas. The civil administration was organized so as to leave as much of it as possible in the hands of the people themselves, who were more or less under the supervison of touring officers of state. This all left the Empire's officials freer to devote themselves to military, defensive projects. However, as has been stated (23) by Aiyangar, such a policy involved military expenditure, which could not have been borne by any ordinary empire. Its structure was such that it tended also to sharpen up the distinctions between the various classes of society. Naturally the results of this were bad in the end.

One of the greatest of its rulers, Krishnadeva Raya, returning from a successful campaign against the ruler of Kalinga and while on the banks of the Kistna near the modern Bezwada, made a grant of ten thousand gold pieces for the repair and restoration of all the temples in South India that had suffered from the devastating hand of the Mohammedans. During his reign he sought to provide temp-

les in his capital for all the deities, whose temples had been devastated by the Mohammedans (24). For example, the great Vittalaswami temple in Vijayanagar was undertaken in order to furnish suitable accommodations at the capital for this deity whose temples had suffered from Mohammedan raids. Other examples might be given to indicate the spirit that informed and promoted this great Hindu empire in the South.

As other evidence of the religious character of this imperial development reference may be made to the part which religious leaders and thinkers of the South played in this Empire's establishment. Although the title of these rulers was Kanarese in form, yet they gave their patronage to Sanskrit and Telugu literature rather than to Kanarese (25). Madhava and Sayana, reputed as brothers and great statesmen as well as renowned scholars, were associated with the beginnings of this Empire. The elder seems to have occupied the position of chief adviser to Bukka (26). Sayana on the other hand seems to have been serving in a similar capacity in the Viceroyalty of Udayagiri under Kampana. Upon the latter's death Sayana seems to have acted as regent during the minority of the son, Sangama. As grammarian and commentator Sayana gave much attention to Vedic study. He and his brother seem to have done much to preserve the Vedic learning from decay and oblivion. Aiyangar holds that, whether for good or for ill (27), "the present-day Hinduism of the South retains the form that it attained under Vijayanagar, which ought to be given the credit of preserving Hinduism such as it is". It would seem, therefore, that in the creation of this Hindu empire we see the result of a spirit of compromise which was forced upon the warring sects and kingdoms of the South by the inroads of Mohammedans from the North. The spirit of compromise and toleration, which grew up as one result of the great struggle with the Mohammedan North of those centuries, finds an interesting illustration in the rule of Bukka, found in the so-called Ramanuja inscription. A complaint came to Bukka that the Vaishnavas were molesting the Jains. As a result of the investigation the ruler committed to a Vaishnava Acharya of the court the task of seeing that the Jains were not molested by the Vaishnavas.

Aiyangar calls attention to the fact (28) that Ganga Devi, the wife of Kumara Kampana, in a Sanskrit epic poem, Kamparaya Charitam, makes the goddess of the South appear to her husband in a dream. She tells him of her sufferings on account of the raids and temple plundering by the Mohammedans, and exhorts him to a campaign against these devastators of religion. This Prince conquered not only Tondamandalam but also Tamil land from the Sultans of Madura. When these Mohammedan garrisons were driven out of the South the re-establishment of Hindu supremacy was marked by the restoration of the great religious center of Shri-

rangam, with which Ramanuja's name has become so intimately associated; and of the re-establishment of the deity, Ranganatha. This rehabilitation of the Vaishnava "holy of holies" is, as Aiyangar remarks, symbolical of the policy that initiated this "Empire" movement and suffused it with a strong religious fervour throughout the entire history of Vijayanagar.

Having indicated briefly the large part which this Empire played in the general Hindu development in the South and in particular the Vaishnava phases of it, it is necessary to return and trace the development of Vaishnava leaders and literature, which centre around the name and activities of Ramanuja.

The term Bhagavata to which reference has been made earlier (29) is used not only to describe Vaishnavism in general. It refers also to a special group of Vaishnavas who recognize the equality of Shiva with Vishnu, and who are loyal to the old Vedic ritual. Even an upanishad has been written (30) to prove the identity of these two deities. Farquhar thinks that this was done after this sect had accepted Shankara's Vedantic system (31). On the other hand, the Pancharatra development represents a still more exclusive sectarian movement. Its beginnings are hidden in obscurity. The creation of its Samhitas is, according to Farquhar (32), the most notable feature of the Vaishnava development in the period lying between the sixth and tenth centuries. This literature is beset with many problems as to date and place of origins. This writer has set forth the problems and given the bibliography of those who have discussed the subject at length. He is inclined to think that it was probably late in reaching the South (33). The Samhitas are many and in their earliest form probably represent some form or other of sectarian practice or doctrine (34). These exhibit the practice and beliefs of the Vaishnavas. The latter bears closest relations on the one hand with the theology of the Narayaniya section of the Mahabharata and on the other with that of Shakta thinking. It is the ritual of these Samhitas which is in most general use in the Tamil country temple-worship to-day (35). This literature, however, was classed as unorthodox by Appaya Dikshita (36), who was a contemporary of Tulasi Das. Ramanuja, however, seems to have been eager to promote Pancharatra practice and doctrine. The wide use of this ritual in the temple-worship in the Ramanuja areas may be taken as evidence of the success which met his own efforts and those of his successors.

However, although Ramanuja is undoubtedly the most outstanding figure among the Vaishnava revival leaders, who followed the Alvars, yet he was preceded by others, worthy at least of brief mention. Nathamuni is the first of these. There are many traditions connected with him. He is thought to have flourished in the first half of the tenth century (37). He seems to have concerned himself with the revival of the teaching of the Alvars, and the

creation of an organization to insure the continuance of their teaching. He arranged the hymns in four groups of a thousand each, or thereabouts, and set them to Dravidian music. This collection is called the book of four thousand hymns, or Nalayira Prabandham. He lived near Trichinopoly in the adjacent Shrirangam temple. He succeeded in having these hymns sung on stated occasions in the worship of this temple, which led to this practice spreading to other temples. This Acharya, for such was the title given him, was followed by Pandarikaksha and Ramamishra of whom we know little. The fourth, however, was Yamunacharya, the immediate predecessor of Ramanuja. He was grandson of Nathamuni, living during the middle of the eleventh century. He seems to have been a scholar of considerable ability. His opposition to the thinking of the Shankara school of thought is seen in the Siddhitraya, in which he argues for the reality of the human soul. All his works, which are several, were written in Sanskrit; and in these are set forth the main features of the Vishishtadvaita type of thinking of which Ramanuja became the great advocate later. Ramanuja, whose birth is dated now in A. D. 1016 or 1017, received his early training at Kanchi in the Shankara school of thinking under Yadavaprakasha, who was a Vedantist of the Vedantists. Ramanuja, however, came under Vaishnava influence early. This seems to have come through the Alvars. He left his early teacher and attached himself to Yamunacharya, whom he later succeeded. When the "acharya" mantle of his teacher descended to him he was still a young man. However, he had already become so prominent a Vaishnava leader that he had even won his former Advaita teacher, Yadavaprakasha, to the Vaishnava faith; and had become destined to be the new leader upon the death of Yamuna. Before he settled down to his duties as teacher, however, he sought to acquaint himself with all the Vaishnava teaching available. This appointment made him not merely head of the Vaishnava school at Shrirangam. He was also in authority over its great temple and the recognized head of the sect. Although many unbelievable traditions have gathered about his name, yet it is clear that he travelled and wrote not a little; that he was prominent both as a teacher and as a disputant with rival sects and faiths. His three most important works are: the Vedarthasangraha and commentaries on both the Bhagavadgita and the Vedanta Sutras. His work on the latter is called the Shribhashya. The first is a work designed to prove that the Upanishads do not teach a strict monism, as set forth by Shankara. In this type of thinking Ramanuja was not alone. He had predecessors, who lived before Shankara. The names of three of these: Tanka, Dramida and Bodhayana, have come down to us (38). Ramanuja's doctrine, in opposition to Shankara's, as summarized by Urquhart (39), is as follows: "Ramanuja's doctrine.....tends towards a more concrete form of Pantheism with an admixture of theism. There

is no departure from the position that God is absolute reality, but still the differences of the world of ordinary experience are not mere appearances. They are real modes of the being of God, the Divine Unity going forth into difference; God is not a wholly unqualified being—certain characteristics may be ascribed to Him. He is not only nirgunam but also sagunam—in fact, He is sometimes characterized so definitely as to approach the God of theism. Creation is an unfolding or evolution of that which was before unmanifested, and the unfolding is a real process. Finite souls have not the independence and self-subsistence which they would have in a properly theistic system, and at the end of the age both they and the world they inhabit will be reabsorbed into God. They do not, however, wholly lose individuality, though the individuality is related to God as a part to the whole, rather than through the relation of communion".

Keith holds (40) that "the actual system of religion expounded by Ramanuja and his school, while resting on the basis of the metaphysics of the Shribhashya, is clearly largely the traditional inheritance of the Pancharatra or Bhagavata school; in the Shribhashya itself the only sectarian hint is the use of Narayana as a synonym of Brahman. In the theology of Ramanuja God manifests himself in five forms. The first is the highest, in which, as Narayana or Parabrahman, he dwells in his city of Vaikuntha under a gem pavilion, seated on the serpent Shesa, adorned with celestial ornaments and bearing his celestial arms, accompanied by his consorts: Lakshmi (prosperity), Bhu (the earth), and Lila (sport); in this condition his presence is enjoyed by the delivered spirits. The second form of manifestation consists of his three or four vyuhas, conditions assumed for purposes of worship, creation, &c; of these Sankarsana possesses the qualities of knowledge (jyana) and power to maintain (bala); Pradyumna has ruling power (aishvarya) and abiding character (virya); Aniruddha has creative power (shakti) and strength to overcome (tejas); while Vasudeva, when included as a fourth vyuha, has all six qualities. The third form comprises the ten avatars of the ordinary mythology; the fourth the antaryamin, in which condition He dwells within the heart, can be seen by the supernatural vision of the Yogi, and accompanies the soul in its passage even to heaven or hell, while the fifth form is that in which the deity dwells in idols or images made by men's hands". Bhandarkar has given (41) a similar summary of this Vaishnava's teaching. This type of thinking has much in common with the Pancharatra Samhitas. Schrader in his Introduction to the Pancharatra and the Ahirbudhya Samhitas deals in detail with this type of thought.

It is probably not overestimating the matter to state that this work of Ramanuja, as well as the Bhagavata Purana, which was born out of this same period in the South, had a profound influence

not merely in promoting this revival, but also in giving it a philosophical basis and standing. It was of great importance that this sect, by means of the Shribhashya, was linked up with the Vedantic development. Was this done by Ramanuja to free his sect from the reproach of being unorthodox (42)? This at least is plain that Ramanuja as far as caste rules were concerned had the reputation of being scrupulously careful in their observance. The purpose of such diligence is obvious. With Ramananda it was very different. It was he who promoted a radical reform regarding caste and attitudes towards the lower castes.

The Bhagavata Purana bears the marks of a book that has come out of a fervent, living experience of the bhakti attitude towards deity. However, it is not of the contemplative, bhakti attitude, such as one finds in Ramanuja's Shribhashya. Farquhar has referred to this distinguishing feature between these two literary precipitates out of the general current of bhakti in the religious life of the South during the centuries under review (43). "From them", he remarks, "come two streams of bhakti characteristic of the period, the one quiet and meditative, the other explosive and emotional". "The latter type", he adds, can be felt everywhere in the atmosphere from the thirteenth century onward". Naturally this latter type is the one which quickly became popular with the masses. It had much more in common with the worship of village deities, as has been noted already, than the contemplative type. To quote again from the above writer, who has characterized this type (44), it "is a surging emotion which checks the speech, makes the tears flow and the hairs thrill with pleasurable excitement, and often leads to hysterical laughing and weeping by turns, to sudden fainting fits and to long trances of unconsciousness. We are told that it is produced by gazing at the images of Krishna, singing his praises, remembering him in meditation, keeping company with his devotees, touching their bodies, serving them lovingly, hearing them tell the mighty deeds of Krishna, and talking with them about his glory and his love. All this rouses the passionate bhakti which will lead to self-consecration to Krishna and life-long devotion to his service. Such devotion leads speedily to release. Thus the whole theory and practice of bhakti in this purana is very different from the bhakti of the Bhagavadgita and of Ramanuja". Consequently, as one might naturally expect, the former is the type which becomes highly erotic. In this respect the Bhagavata Purana far exceeds either the Harivansha, or the Vishnu Purana in giving centrality in its teaching and practice to the erotic phases of bhakti. And unfortunately these are the very phases of bhakti out of which have sprung many sects of Vaishnavism.

This highly emotional type of bhakti, as far as available data is concerned, is first seen in Tamil land among the Alvars who expressed their devotion by singing the praises of Vishnu, or one or

other of his incarnations before the images of these deities in the temples of that country. Moreover, according to Shastri (45), it would appear that many of the temples before whose images they danced and sang were dedicated to Shiva as well as to Vishnu. Such temples, for reasons already stated (46), would naturally be in the care of members of the Bhagavata sect. Hence there is good reason for the conviction, which Farquhar has expressed (47): "if in the Tamil-country there was a group of Bhagavata ascetics who felt the same devotion as the Alvars and expressed it in similar fashion, we should have precisely the 'great souls devoted to Narayana' mentioned in the Bhagavata, and in such circumstances the bhakti, referred to in the Bhagavata Mahatmya, would be born".

The later years of Ramanuja's life were spent in the spread of his type of Vaishnava faith. During that time he made an extended tour into north India, as far north even as Kashmir. The wide influence of his sect in later times is taken as one evidence of the fruitfulness of this tour. In 1098 the Vaishnavas became the object of persecution, which Kulottunga, the Chola king, promoted. As a result Ramanuja fled from Shrirangam and took refuge in Mysore, where he continued to reside for many years. As a result the then Crown Prince of the Hoysala line, whose family and many of their subjects were Jains, became a Vaishnava. His conversion has been noted above. In 1118 the Chola king died and four years later Ramanuja returned to his ancient seat of tutorial and ecclesiastical authority, where he died in 1137 A. D. In the temples of his sect he has long been worshipped as an incarnation. Many have written of his life. Of these many lives, one written in Tamil by Pinbalagia-Perumal-Jiyar, who belonged in the thirteenth century, has the greatest detail.

The particular Vaishnava sect of which Ramanuja became the head was called Shri-Vaishnava. This sect which is very widespread to-day counts its members almost exclusively from among the Brahman caste. Furthermore its members are very strict in all matters relating to caste regulations as was the case with Ramanuja himself. It is probable that even though certain outcaste names appear among the list of its saints, these two features characterized it from its beginnings. Farquhar has noted the interesting fact (48): that every Shri-Vaishnava Brahman bears either Acharya or Aiyangar as a name.

Two important features of this sect's faith, which seem to have their beginnings with Ramanuja are prapatti and salvation by the guru. In this latter we see the process of exalting the guru to deityhood and to which reference has been made earlier (49). It is in the Artha-panchaka of Pillai Lokacharya where this doctrine comes into the foreground. It consists in the devotee surrendering himself to an acharya, who guides him in everything. This acharya does everything that may be necessary to bring about the salvation

of his devotee. Regarding prapatti it would seem as though Ramanuja did not define clearly the distinction between it and bhakti. Hence after his departure it became the subject of long and bitter controversies, which ended in division within the sect and the formation of two schools of thought, each professing to follow Ramanuja. Prapatti, according to Keith (50), "consists in the sense of submission, the avoidance of opposition, the confidence of protection, the choosing of deity as the saviour, the placing of oneself at his disposal and the consciousness of utter abasement".

The Northern, or Vedagalai school of thought, whose numbers in contradistinction to the Southern school are not large today, holds that prapatti begins with the devotee and that it is merely one way of salvation among many others. Does this fact not bear the earmarks of a process of compromise in the North ? Moreover Sanskrit has remained the vehicle of its religious culture. The Southern, or Tengalai school, retained the use of the vernacular as the vehicle of its culture and hence in this respect it continued the practice of the Alvars. This latter school held that prapatti is an attitude of mind, characteristic of all those who seek salvation and reject all other ways in favour of this one. Those who use other ways to reach deity have not attained this right attitude which leads to deity. Hence prapatti represents a stage beyond bhakti. The latter represents active love and devotion. Whereas the former is wholly passive, like the kitten when picked up by the cat. Hence this doctrine, when carried to its logical conclusions entails the added notion: that devotion and reverence in the attitude of the devotee are due to the acharya, who sets the feet of the self-surrendered one in the right way. This is the outcome of the "irresistible grace" of the deity. Furthermore the Southern school insists not only that all, of whatever caste, should be treated alike, but also that the low caste members should be taught the whole of the mantra. On the other hand, however, those of the Northern school taught that the whole of the mantra should be taught to none save Brahmans. Moreover according to the latter school one of the low caste should be treated well merely in respect to conversation with him. As a matter of fact the Northern school seems to represent more nearly the thought and attitudes of Ramanuja than the Southern school. This is seen both in the meditative character of its bhakti and in its conservatism towards caste regulations. According to the former school the grace of the deity is co-operative and is symbolized by the baby-monkey, clinging to the breast of its mother. Hence these two schools have come to be known as the cat and monkey schools of thought.

It is notable that Ramanuja's system of religious thought is free from Gopal-Krishnaism. Hence Radha and the gopis are absent. In his writings Rama even does not appear as an important

deity. It is not until the times and work of Ramananda that the latter comes into prominence.

One notable feature of Vaishnavism, which, as Bhandarkar observes (51), seems to characterize it from its very beginnings, is "its spirit of sympathy for the lower castes and classes of Hindu society". May this not be taken as suggestive of the origins of Vishnu worship and its early worshippers? However, on the other hand this also ought to be noted: that to the extent that it became an influential movement it would attract leaders from the higher castes. Hence its great teachers, who for the most part were drawn from these same higher castes, held those from the lower castes in what has been called "an outer court", even though they were presumably admitted to the benefits of this new faith. According to the Vedantic faith all such from the lower castes could look for deliverance only after accomplishing many successive rebirths. On the contrary, however, the Vaishnavas taught that those of the lower castes, whosoever desired it, might attain salvation here and now by means of bhakti. However, Brahman leaders of this sect of Shri-Vaishnava, such as Ramanuja, hedged this way of bhakti with so many restrictions as resulted in limiting it largely to the higher castes. With Ramananda, however, it was different. He would not permit distinctions to be made between Brahmans and those from the lower castes. All might dine together, provided of course they were devotees of Vishnu and had been admitted into the religious group. Two other outstanding features of the Ramananda development, the far-reaching influence of each in North India it is hard to overestimate, were: first the use of the vernaculars instead of the then highly artificial Sanskrit, in the spread of this faith and second, the introduction of the worship of the more noble and exalted Rama and Sita in the place of Krishna and Radha. However, before proceeding to state such facts as are known concerning this great leader and devotee of Rama it is necessary to note the fact that he had certain predecessors, who seem to have had a share in preparing the way for his reforms in the Vaishnava faith.

In tracing those who preceded Ramananda and were akin to him in spirit and teaching, one must turn to the early bhakti development in the Maratha country. It is the late M. G. Ranade, who in his work on "The Rise of the Maratha Power", refers to the fact that the religious revival, which we have been tracing above in this and in the preceding chapter, "covers a period of nearly five hundred years and during this period some fifty saints and prophets flourished in this land, who left their mark upon the country and its people.....A few of these saints were women, a few were Mohammedan converts to Hinduism, nearly half of them were Brahmans, while there were representatives in the other half from among all other castes, Marathas, kunbis, tailors, gardeners, potters, goldsmiths,

repentant prostitutes and slave girls, even the outcaste Mahars". One of the most remarkable of the earlier of these bhaktas was Namdeva, who was a tailor. Tradition places his birth in 1270 A. D. Even though his date is a subject, which has occasioned much debate among scholars, and although much of the traditional material that has gathered about his name cannot be accepted, yet through the dim shadows of that time of great political confusion and religious unrest we get glimpses and catch the notes of song of an earnest and devout seeker. The deity Vithoba or Vitthal of Pandharpur is the object of his devotion. In fact it is around the shrine of this deity that the popular Vaishnavism of the Maratha country has found its great centre. Reference has been made already to this centre and its deity (52).

At this point in the Vaishnava revival, however, it becomes necessary to make a somewhat more extended reference to this important shrine of the Maratha Vaishnava development. Bhandarkar, to whom the writer is indebted (53), gives some detailed information regarding the origins and development of the Vithoba worship. We are informed that Vitthal is the full name of this deity. The word is non-Sanskrit. It is rather a corruption of Vishnu's name in Kanarese, which is Vitthu. Although there are no data which carry us back to the origins of this shrine, yet Bhandarkar refers to the fact that on a copperplate inscription belonging to the reign of Krishna of the Yadava dynasty of Deogiri there is clear evidence as to its being a holy place in the middle of the thirteenth century. On this copperplate there is mention of a grant of a village in the Belgaum District at Paundarikakshetra, which is called a holy place in the vicinity of the deity Vishnu. As it is stated that this place is on the banks of the Bhimarathi where stands Pandharpur to-day, which has Pandhari as an alternate name, Bhandarkar concludes that they are one and the same centre. The name Paundarika, he thinks owes its origin to one who bore the name of Pundalika, concerning whom there is a popular legend connected with Krishna and his wedded wife, Rukmini. The story is that through a discourtesy, shown the latter by Radha she left Dvaraka, where Krishna was. She wandered about until she came to Dindiravana, the site of present-day Pandharpur. Pundalika was devoted alike to the service of his parents and of Krishna. Consequently when the latter came and became reconciled with Rukmini he went to the hut of his devotee to reward him for his devotion by a personal manifestation. However, at the moment of the deity's arrival Pundalika was engaged in some service for his parents. So he was not able to greet him there and then. He tossed a brick towards the deity and asked him to stand upon it and wait until the service to his parents was completed. This Krishna did and thus it was, according to legend, that the shrine at Pandharpur arose. Furthermore it is popular belief that Pundalika was the

originator of the Vitthal cult; and to this reference is made by Tukaram as well as Namdeva.

There is another significant feature to this legend about Krishna of Pandharpur. Krishna worship at first had no woman connected with it. Then in the North Radha, while in the Maratha country Rukmini, his lawful wife, became his associate. Hence in the religious literature of the Maratha country Krishna, as Bhandarkar tells us, is almost exclusively spoken of as Rukminipati (the husband of Rukmini) and not as Radhavallabha (the lover of Radha). As a consequence the Vaishnavism of the Maratha country, even though Radha is not unknown there, is less erotic than the Radha-Krishna development.

We may return now to consider Namdeva and his predecessor, Dnyaneshvara, whose name is also written Jnaneshvara and Dnyanoba. On the basis of language Bhandarkar (54) places the former about a century later than the latter. Tradition makes him contemporary with Dnyaneshvara, and with this Macnicol is inclined to agree (55). However Farquhar (56) has presented the data to show that the activities of Namdeva belong between 1400 and 1430 A. D. The phrase "gone are the saints", which is contained in one of his abhangs, makes it clear, Farquhar thinks, "that Jnaneshvara and his saintly companions lived long before him". Dr. MacKichan (57) places Dnyaneshvara in the concluding period of the thirteenth century. Aside from the legends that have grown up about him in wild profusion, little is known about his life. This much, however, is clear: he was a profuse writer. His Dnyaneshvari, which it is held was composed at Nevasa, Ahmadnagar Dist., is an elaborate paraphrase of the Bhagavadgita in Marathi. Although he was well-versed in Sanskrit, yet his love for his native tongue was so great that he praises himself for putting this work into Marathi (58). This work was completed just three years before the Mohammedan free-booters broke across the Vindhyas into the South and Deogiri, his nation's capital, fell before the fierce onslaughts of Alaud-din. As evidence of the troublous times in which he lived and which followed his day the fact may be cited that his great poem was forgotten until Ekanath, another Maratha saint of those earlier days, who lived at Paithan, brought it to light again in 1584 A. D. It is said that the latter was opposed to caste and suffered not a little for his moral courage in denouncing it.

Dnyaneshvara was a Brahman, whose mind was steeped in Sanskrit lore and with the metaphysical and ethical presuppositions of the Bhagavadgita. Hence he reflected the Brahman standpoint. With Namdeva is was otherwise. His voice and song were rather that of the people. The influence of the poems became early so widespread that some of them have been incorporated in the sacred book of the Sikhs, the Granth Sahib. Of his life history little is known. He appears to have been born near Pandharpur. It is in

his poems where idolatry (59) is so fiercely denounced, which, according to scholars (60), is taken as evidence of the influence of Islam. However, he does not seem to have given up the use of idols. Macnicol (61) refers to the fact that his abhangs reveal a development in his thinking. At first his bhakti is that of the Bhagavata Purana type: highly emotional, "all tears and cries and raptures". While this early religious stage lasted, the deity at Pandharpur is the sole object of his devotion. Later, however, a change comes and Vithoba "has become for him no more than a symbol of the supreme Soul that pervades the universe". The old passion and tears and raptures have passed and he has entered the condition of passivity. "An attitude of spiritual indifference is now his supreme attainment".

An interesting legend, connected with Namdeva's life seems to reflect the growing importance of the guru as a means of salvation. The legend is that Namdeva in company with Dnyaneshvara and other saints, belonging to all castes, visited a potter in the latter's home village, Alandi, whereupon the potter, "an old, old man", tested them. Namdeva was pronounced of insufficiently burned clay. Hence he had need to be put in the hands of a guru. Then follows teaching as to the need and value of the "guru's grace". Macnicol adds suggestively that perhaps the necessity of the guru, which had become rooted much earlier in the South, as we have seen already, was now beginning "to impose its discipline upon the unrestrained fervour of Marathi bhakti". In Namdeva we have, as one has said (62) the voice of the unsophisticated human heart that cries for God, "the living God...a voice, which becomes more articulate, as we shall see, in a later poet of the same type". It is hard to overestimate the influence of Namdeva in the West and North. It spread far beyond the confines of the Maratha areas. Evidence of this has been noted already in the incorporation of a number of his poems in the Granth Sahib. There is also the fact that a shrine, sacred to him, is in existence in Ghuman, Gurdaspur Dist., Punjab (63).

The point has been reached where it becomes necessary to enter into a more detailed consideration of Ramananda's activities and of the religious advance he brought into the Vaishnava development. The development connected with his name in North India is a significant one. However, in addition to Namdeva there were others, preceding him, who prepared the way, such as Trilochan (64) in Maratha land and Sadhna and Beni in the North (65). His date, like that of Namdeva's, has been a subject occasioning much discussion. There remains still a considerable difference of opinion among scholars. For example, Macauliffe places him in the close of the fourteenth and opening years of the fifteenth centuries. Those agreeing with him are: Sir Charles Lyall (66), Eggeling (67),

Crooke (68), Macnicol (69), Rice (70), and Sir Geo. Grierson (71). Bhandarkar makes Ramananda a contemporary of Namdeva (72). Vincent Smith thinks he lived sometime during the fourteenth century (73). Bhandarkar refers to the fact that the earlier date agrees with the traditional statement that there were three generations between Ramanuja and Ramananda. Rama Narayana Das in his Hindi work on the Agastya-Samhita places his birth in 1299 or 1300 A. D. However, on the other hand Macauliffe in his work (74) gives 1425 as the date of the birth of Pipa, who was one of Ramananda's "twelve apostles". Kabir, another of this Vaishnava leader's early group, is placed between 1440 and 1518 A. D. (75). The hymn by Dhana, referred to in Macauliffe's work (76), makes it clear that Kabir was not the latest of this original group. Data, such as the above, have led Farquhar (77) to place this leader between 1400 and 1470.

Although one may not be able to trace specific historical connections between the democratic phases of the bhakti development in the Maratha country and that which grew up around the activities and teaching of Ramananda, yet this much is certain: both developments have practically the same democratic atmosphere and outlook in religion. Such an atmosphere and outlook arise out of similar practices, attitudes and convictions. Of this there can be no reasonable doubt.

Although Ramananda is one of the most important characters in Hinduism in the North to-day, yet the paucity of data about him is very great. However, such tradition as exists makes him originally a member of the Shri-Vaishnava sect of Ramanuja, being the fifth in succession from the latter. The fact that the sect-mark of the Ramanandis of to-day is merely a modification of that of the Shri-Vaishnavas may be taken as evidence that Ramananda at sometime in his career bore some relation to the latter. In this connection a point worthy of note is that while Rama, as one of the incarnations of Vishnu, had a place among the Shri-Vaishnavas, yet it is Krishna rather than Rama that has remained in the ascendancy among them. However, when we turn to Ramananda and the group, which he promoted, it is Rama-Sita and those associated with them, who receive their exclusive devotion. And this, we are assured (78), is the general practice among Ramanandis to-day. Hence it is difficult to think it was otherwise in Ramananda's day. Furthermore the mantra of the Rama sect differs from that of the Shri-Vaishnavas. That of the latter is "Om namo Narayana". A. Govindacharya Svamin (79) calls attention to the fact that the latter use also a secret mantra, called Dvaya, which refers to Shri and Vishnu. That of the former sect in "Om Ramaya namah". In the above facts we have evidence of a sect distinct from Ramanuja's followers. When and where did this new group arise which gave to Rama the place of the Supreme? Did it begin with Ramananda,

or was he rather one of the Rama sect's early leaders, who came into prominence in that section of the general Vaishnava revival, which substituted the nobler and purer-minded Rama for Krishna ? These are tantalizing questions that must await more data before assured answers, or any matured judgment can be presented.

On the basis of such facts as are available, however, certain probabilities may be stated. Although Sir George Grierson (80) refers to a North India tradition, which gives Ramananda's birth from a Kanyakubja Brahman family, resident in Prayag; and that originally he as a youth became a pupil of a follower of Shankaracharya in Benares, yet the commonly accepted tradition represents him as coming from the South and settling in the latter city where he gathered about himself a following. Reference has been made already (81) to the fact that the Rama story found its way into Tamil land early; and that it is preserved in early Jain literature in the South, which makes it probable that the Jains, as well as the Buddhists, may have had something to do with this Epic becoming known so early in the South. Although as yet it has not been possible to trace the origins of the cult, which grew up around Rama, yet we have seen already (82) that one must have been in existence for some centuries previous to the times of Ramananda. Dr. Farquhar (83) has put forward the interesting suggestion as to the probability that the community, which exalted Rama as their exclusive deity, lived among the Shri-Vaishnavas of the Tamil country and that Ramananda was a member of it. In view, however, of the persistent tradition that originally he was a Shri-Vaishnava, one is justified in raising the question as to whether he grew up in the Rama cult, or came into it by choice later. His vigorous opposition to certain phases of the Shri-Vaishnava teachings and practice would seem to strengthen the belief that the tradition, regarding him, represents an historical fact. A commonly noted psychological phenomenon is that a convert to a new faith is likely to be the more vigorous opponent of the faith which he has forsaken as well as the more zealous in the new faith, which he has espoused. Such was Ramananda. His motto was "let no one ask a man's caste or sect; whoever adores God is God's own". However, it is one thing to teach high ideals. It is quite another to practice them. Farquhar observes regarding this leader (84) that "there is no evidence that he relaxed the rule that restricts priestly functions to the Brahman; and he made no attempt to overturn caste as a social institution: it was only certain of the religious restrictions of caste that were relaxed".

It would seem as though Ramananda wrote little. Grierson refers to a single hymn of his in the Granth Sahib (85). However, it is difficult to overestimate the debt, which literary development in the vernaculars of the North owes to him and his group. Ramanuja's writings were primarily, one might even say almost exclu-

sively, for Brahmans; and hence were in the sacred Sanskrit tongue, which few but Brahmans knew. But Ramananda, like Namdeva and later bhakti saints in the Maratha country, gave their teaching in the homely vernaculars of the time. Ramananda, unlike Ramanuja, has left no commentary for his cult, such as the Shribhashya. To-day his followers use the latter. Are we to infer therefore, as many think, that Ramananda and his group followed the Vishishadvaita system of Ramanuja ? With this general conviction Farquhar disagrees (86) and points to the fact that "one of the characteristics of the whole movement that springs from him is a constant use of advaita phrases, a clinging to advaita concepts while holding hard by the personality of Rama". However, the fact that he issued no authoritative compendium of doctrine for his followers; and that he in all probability, as Dr. Farquhar has noted (87), used the Shribhashya, since his followers use it to-day, would incline one to think that he accepted and taught the system of Ramanuja. Whatever advaita elements may have crept into the thinking and teaching of the Ramanandis might easily have taken place since his day. If we only had a compendium of his teaching, such as Ramanuja prepared, then we would be able to determine his position in this matter. However, as it is, our judgment must be suspended, awaiting more data.

Ramananda's attitude towards caste is seen in the earliest followers, whom he gathered about himself. Aside from Brahmans, one named Kabir, was a Mohammedan weaver; another was from one of the lowest caste of leather-workers. There was a Jat, a Rajput, a barber, and two of them were women. This is quite remarkable. In the Vaishnava revival although women saints find a place, yet "Ramananda was the only teacher who placed the sexes on an equality by calling two women to be his apostles" (88). However, we ought not to conclude, therefore, that this practice of neglecting caste distinctions in receiving disciples began with this Vaishnava leader. The bhakti sectarian groups had long since recognized the general principle that anyone from any caste, or class might obtain salvation by the way of bhakti. Then added to this is the fact that through the presence of Mohammedan rule and Islamic influence the tendency became more or less prevalent to recognize Mohammedanism as a religious faith as well as Hinduism. Herein the latter faith exhibits one of its marked characteristics: to open its ample bosom and find a place for this new faith. Hence it was not a new thing to find both Hindu and Mohammedan religious leaders in this period, who were willing to receive followers from either or both of these faiths.

Out of the group which Ramananda gathered about himself the Shri-Sampradaya grew, which Farquhar conjectures (89), took shape about 1500 A. D. There were three others, connected with the followers of Madhva, Vishnuswami and Nimbarka. But as

they are not connected with the Rama development they are related only indirectly to the subject of this study. His present-day followers regard Ramananda as a re-incarnation of Ramachandra. It is impossible to state just how early this process of his exaltation to deity-hood began. But, given the incarnation-technique in the social inheritance, it would require scarcely a generation to complete such a process. Furthermore, several of his "apostles" (90) have advanced far along the road towards deity-hood. Becoming the head of a sect or sub-sect greatly accelerates this process, as may be seen in the case of Kabir, who, to the Kabirpanthis, has long since become an incarnation of the Supreme. Of those, who bear Ramananda's name and seem to have come in direct line from him an ascetic order ought to be mentioned. These are called both Vairagis and Avadhutas. According to Grierson (91) the latter means "those who have thrown off the trammels of narrow-mindedness". The former term carries the ordinary meaning: "those who have become passionless ones". Tulasi Das became a Ramanandi Vairagi. However, before concluding this chapter and turning to deal with the life and times of Tulasi Das there is another, who immediately preceded him, to whom reference should be made.

Three of Ramananda's "apostles", namely: Kabir, Sena and Rai Das, founded sectarian groups of their own. Of these three Kabir was the most outstanding character. Although there are conflicting dates for both his birth and his death, yet Bishop Westcott's dates are generally accepted (92) which are from 1440 to 1518 A. D. There is no doubt about his being a disciple of Ramananda. In one of his poems (93) he writes "Ramananda illumined me". Miracle-stories abound in connection with his birth and other important events in his life. From among this mass of jungle growth, that must be pruned away, all stories agree that he was brought up by a Mohammedan weaver named Niru, whose wife was Nima (94). He lived in Benares for a time. However, the Emperor Sikandar, who reigned from 1489 to 1517, had him banished from the holy city of the Hindus. Thenceforth he seems to have lived a wandering life, dying finally at a place near Gorakhpur, which is called Maghar.

Kabir, unlike Ramananda, was a prolific writer. His best known work being two collections. One is called Sakhis, some five thousand sayings consisting of a stanza each. The other is of short poems, filled with doctrinal teaching and called Ramainis. His verse has been done in a blunt and rugged Hindi. His couplets and sayings are well known and quoted far and wide throughout North India. Although his followers to-day are found largely among the lower castes, yet Kabir himself occupies a high place in the reverence of practically all Vaishnavas. Not a little of his teaching is on the high ethical plane such as emphasizes the inwardness of true religion. As is natural, much has been ascribed

to him, which critical examination may yet prove is the work of others. The Bijak, compiled by one of his followers about 1570 A. D., is a collection of verse and witty sayings. Later still similar material was incorporated in the Granth Sahib. A great mass of literary material, current among the Kabirpanthis, is ascribed to their leader.

In Kabir two religious currents—one Hindu and the other Mohammedan—appear to mingle. However, there are wide differences of opinion on this matter. Much of his doctrine and even some of his language, Grierson (95) thinks, were borrowed from the Nestorian Christianity of South India. Bishop Westcott (96) is inclined to class him as a Mohammedan and Sufi. On the other hand Bhandarkar (97) thinks there is little or nothing to indicate "that his teachings had a Mohammedan basis". To him the basis of his teaching seems to be wholly Hindu. Farquhar holds (98) that the ground pattern of his thinking is Hindu. Hence he regards the circle of his thought as Indian, rather than Islamic.

He is a critic alike of certain phases of the Hindu as well as the Muslim faith. Idol worship and pride of caste (99) come in for a scathing denunciation. The Puranas as well as the Koran are held up to ridicule as mere words. The type of worship, which he sought to promote, consisted of prayer and praise alone. The following may be taken as illustrative of his teaching and emphasis upon the inwardness of true religion (100).

"O Servant, where dost thou seek Me? Lo! I am beside thee.
I am neither in temple nor in mosque; I am neither in Kaaba nor in Kailash;
Neither am I in rites and ceremonies, nor in Yoga and renunciation.
If thou art a true seeker, thou shalt at once see Me: thou shalt meet Me in a moment of time.
Kabir says, O Sadhu ! God is the breath of all breath! "

.....

"There is nothing but water at the holy bathing places; and I know that they are useless, for I have bathed in them.
The images are all lifeless, they cannot speak; I know, for I have cried aloud unto them.
The Purana and the Koran are mere words; lifting up the curtain, I have seen.
Kabir gives utterance to the words of experience; and he knows very well that all other things are untrue."

Although Kabir was certainly not a thinker of the first rank, yet there can be little room for doubt, that, as McKenzie states (101), "he is one of the loftiest and purest influences in the whole

history of Indian religion". He was a strict theist. Rama to him is the source of all good. Without him nothing is good.

It becomes necessary now in concluding this chapter to gather up the matters of general significance, which our study in the present and previous chapters, has thrown up into the foreground, as having special reference to the subject chosen.

In the first place it can hardly be gainsaid that the religious development in the South, which we have been tracing in a very cursory manner, has had more to do with the later developments in Hinduism, especially its bhakti phases, than scholars generally have conceded hitherto. It is true that much investigation in this particular field of study, in tracing out these connections in much greater detail, still remains untouched. Nevertheless this much is clear that the Hinduism and its bhakti phases of development, seen to-day, have much more in common with the development, which we have been tracing in this and in the preceding chapter, than with the Aryan Brahman religious development in the North. Even though there is much more that needs to be known in detail about the religious development in the South to clear up disputed points, yet the general reasons for the above fact are fairly obvious. For example the Dravidian religious development in the South, with its intimate relations with the soil and agriculture, has had much more in common with the conditions of the masses of India's populations, both in the past and in the present, than the ritualistic, philosophical, and asceticized Brahman development. Of course on the other hand there are distinct reasons why the latter should have taken the general direction which it did. The Aryan religious culture when it arrived in India was already in the care of a priesthood that had become hereditary. The significance of this has been pointed out already (102). Then this Aryan group or groups, though conscious of superiority, were long in the minority. Hence it was natural that a social and religious defensive technique should become developed, such as is seen in the caste and Brahman religious systems, to protect themselves and their religious culture intact from the disintegrating influences of an indigenous culture in the midst of which they lived their lives.

It has been pointed out already (103) that the early, Vedic, religious culture reflects the conditions of a people "on the march", rather than that of those habituated to intimate relations with the soil and agriculture. Furthermore it would appear that when the Aryans did come to have any relations with the soil and agriculture in post-Vedic times it was indirectly for the most part as overlords of the servile classes, rather than directly as agriculturalists. Otherwise the early developed and deeply-rooted prejudice of the Aryan towards manual labour is un-understandable. Although some form or other of sacrificial practice was widespread in ancient times and among primitive peoples, yet that which meets

us in the early Vedic literature was for the priestly and warrior classes, rather than for the masses. Then again the ascetic development, in spite of the fact that it became a widespread movement preceding and during the period both of Jainism, and Buddhism, yet even so this movement could not have begun to compare in numbers with the masses of the population of that time. Hence it was, or at least it tended to become increasingly a specialized religious development among India's populations. No matter how many ascetics there were, yet there seemed always to be enough living the work-a-day life to supply the former with life's necessities. Hence the whole, early, Brahman development and what grew out of it in the North were such as would not give it as intimate a relation with the masses of the people, as the Southern religious development, which was suffused with the atmosphere of the soil and agriculture.

However, having stated so much, it must be noted on the other hand that the coming of the Brahman as well as the Jain and Buddhist religious pioneer into the South was not in the guise of a conqueror as the Aryan had entered the North, centuries earlier. It was rather as a teacher, philosopher and guide that he came. This distinction is worthy of note. Furthermore, the South, especially the Tamil country had already developed a high type of material civilization because of its commercial relations with a wide range of cultures and races. These leaders from the North represented a thought and a religious culture of a higher type than that associated with the village worship and its deities. Hence their coming into such a developing material civilization, as we have already noted especially in the Tamil country where the indigenous culture was highest, had a profoundly fructifying influence. This is just what we would naturally expect under such favourable circumstances. Furthermore this influence seems to have been most profound among those whom we would expect it to be such: the rulers and those attached to their courts. These would be those for the most part who would have travelled farthest in their thinking and outlook from village-life conditions. We have seen that these religious pioneers from the North (104) had much to do with the development of literatures in the more important vernaculars of the South.

Nevertheless sooner or later an indigenous culture, under the fructifying influence of an alien culture or cultures, which for the time being may have brought about a partial or almost total eclipse of the former, is almost certain to assert itself in time and come into its own. It took some time for this indigenous religious development especially to arise and gather momentum in the South. Soon after the opening of the Christian era we get occasional glimpses of the beginnings of this development in the growing attitudes of hostility towards Jainism and Buddhism, as alien faiths. By

the time of the Pallava age the development had become akin to a great, nationalist movement, which swept through the whole South. One would like to know whether or not a similar antagonism was manifested against Brahmanism, as against the other two faiths from the North. Had Brahmanism been able to adapt itself more closely to the indigenous religious culture than Jainism and Buddhism, or is it that that element in the social inheritance of the indigenous religious culture of the South has not come down to us in any large way in literary precipitates ? Perhaps these both were factors in giving us the impression that in this respect the Brahman occupied a favoured position. Antagonisms there were. As has been noted already, we get glimpses of them in connection with the village-worship (105). One would like to have more data at hand, however, to determine more adequately what did really take place between Brahmanism from the North and the village cults, when the latter came under the inspiration of the revival during the age of the Pallavas. The Adiyars and the Alvars, singing the praises of their chosen deities before their temples and images in the homely vernaculars of the people; and later the introduction of this style of hymnody and its practice into the temple-worship of the South, were undoubtedly great factors in promoting this indigenous development.

Another great factor, arising later, which promoted the later development, was the Mohammedan inroads and oppression from the North. They were influential not only in uniting the Southern kingdoms, broken and devastated though they were, but, what is of much more importance in relation to the subject of our study, their union was primarily in the interests of saving Hinduism. Such a struggle was undoubtedly a great influence in integrating Hindu culture, especially its bhakti phases, among the masses of the South. When a people fight for their faith it becomes thereby much more deeply integrated in the social inheritance than would be the case otherwise.

Then again it will have been noted that as the Vaishnava revival spread westward and northward the use of the vernaculars became increasingly the vehicle for the spread of the Vaishnava faith. Hence this faith took on an at-homeness with the masses, which had not been possible as long as Sanskrit had been the vehicle. It is in the Maratha country and Ramananda phases of this development where the use of the vernacular comes into prominence. One of the results of this, as we might naturally expect, was the part which many came to play in this revival, who were from the lower castes. In connection therewith one recalls that the Vishnu worship reflects sympathies and early connections with the lower castes, even in spite of the fact that this religious development came under Brahman leadership early.

Such a great revival, as has been sketched briefly in this and in the earlier chapter, precipitated into the social inheritance a large and varied body of religious literature. Naturally all this literature and some of it in particular, such as the hymns of the Adiyar and Alvar saints and the Bhagavata Purana reflect a living faith in and a great devotion to the deities chosen. Much of this literature springs from the human heart, warm and aflame with religious devotion. However, this religious devotion when carried to a certain emotional pitch passes over easily into expressions and symbols that are highly erotic; and hence in the end leads to the degradation of worship. In this Vaishnava revival this erotic development (the later phases of it have not been traced as they are aside from the main object of this study) was well advanced during the period under review. Hence some of the undesirable results had already come into the social inheritance of the period.

Hence it is not surprising to find that in this same period the more wholesome and ethical Rama-worship comes into increasing prominence, especially as this Vaishnava revival moves westward and northward. Ramananda and his early group gave to Rama the place of the Supreme; and hence they have had much to do with popularizing this nobler faith throughout all of North India. However, the one, who, more than any other Ramanandi, did most to give wide prevalence to this purer faith was Tulasi Das, to the study of whose times and life we now turn. His great work, the Ramacharitamanasa, has been called "the Bible of ninety millions of people, and is certainly more familiar to every Hindu of Northern India than our Bible is to the average English peasant. There is not a Hindu of Hindustan proper (meaning North India), whether prince or cottar, who does not know its most famous verses and whose common talk is not coloured by it. Its similes have entered even into the language of Indian Muslims, some of whose most ordinary idioms, though they know it not, made their first appearance in this work (106)".

In estimating those factors, which have been profound in lifting the moral tone of the life of millions of Hindus in North India, the influence of the Vaishnava faith, as promoted by Ramananda and the disciples and other leaders who followed him, must be given a high and honorable place in the esteem of all, who hold that religion should be intimately bound up with high standards of ethical conduct.

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"What! is it not a perfect marvel,
That this is our national Marathi speech
The sounds are filling the whole air
With exceeding sweetness".
—From Dr. Murray Mitchell's translation.

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(63). Macauliffe, Sikh Religion (VI), p. 39.
(64). Farquhar, ibid., p. 299.
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(69). Indian Interpreter (Oct. 1914), p. 118.
(70). Rice, Kanarese Literature, p. 72.
(71). Imper. Gaz. (II), p. 416.
(72). Bhandarkar, ibid., p. 67.
(73). V. Smith, ibid., p. 260.
(74). Macauliffe, ibid., (VI), p. 111.
(75). E. R. E. (VII), p. 32.
(76). Macauliffe, ibid., (VI), p. 109.

(77). Farquhar, ibid., p. 323.
(78). „ „ p. 323.
(79). A. Govindacharya Swamin, Life of Ramanuja, pp. 14, 48, 52.
(80). E. R. E., (X), p. 569f.
(81). pp. 74, 123.
(82). p. 73.
(83). Farquhar, ibid., p. 324.
(84). „ „ p. 325.
(85). Grierson, Modern Vernacular Lit. of Hindustan, p. 7.
(86). Farquhar, ibid., p. 326.
(87). „ „ p. 325.
(88). E. R. E., (X), p. 571.
(89). Farquhar, ibid., p. 327.
(90). E. R. E., (X), p. 571.
(91). E. R. E., (X), p. 570.
(92). Bishop Westcott, Kabir and the Kabir Panth, p. 44.
(93). Tagore-Underhill, One Hundred Poems of Kabir, p. 36.
(94). E. R. E., (VII), p. 632.
(95). Imper. Gaz., (II), p. 417; J. R. A. S. (1918), p. 156.
(96). Bishop Westcott, ibid., p. 37.
(97). Bhandarkar, ibid., p. 69.
(98). Farquhar, ibid., p. 332.
(99). Sakhis, Group I, 260; 8th., 34th. and 40th. Ramaini.
(100). Tagore-Underhill, One Hundred Poems of Kabir, Nos. i, xlii.
(101). MacKenzie, Hindu Ethics, p. 172.
(102). p. 112.
(103). p. 112.
(104). p. 84.
(105). p. 102.
(106). E. R. E., (XII), p. 471.

CHAPTER VI

TULASI DAS: A GENERAL VIEW OF HIS TIMES AND LIFE.

Previous to the incoming of the Mohammedan conquerors and the establishment of their rule, India had gone on her own way of political development and social crystallization for well nigh thirty centuries without having her social structure deeply disturbed. Such conquerors, as had entered India hitherto, had come and gone, and who, with the single exception of Menander, already referred to, had left practically no trace behind themselves, either in India's literature or life. With the coming of the Mohammedans, however, it became different. They regarded themselves somewhat as crusaders. In the name of Allah it was their duty to destroy all this idolatrous paganism, that met their eyes everywhere. All North India in particular bears witness to their iconoclastic zeal in its many destroyed temples, mutilated images, and disrupted religious foundations. With brutal severity idolatry was put under the ban; and all who were non-Muslims had to bear the impost of a tax and other vexatious disabilities. In ways, such as these, Muslim rulers long sought to uproot idolatry from their dominions. At times, however, and for reasons mostly political, there were those who set aside the customary impositions against non-Muslims. With these exceptions, this was the general policy of all their earlier rulers down to the days of Akbar.

Consequently, as might be anticipated, this attitude of the Mohammedan rulers had two general effects upon Hindu religious life. In the first place and, particularly in the case of the sincere and devout Hindus, it tended to develop a deeper emotional attitude and fanatical zeal for their chosen deities. This in turn tended to give all such deities a greatly enhanced and idealized value to all such devotees. Then in the second place this very attack upon the symbols and abodes of their deities tended to build certain new elements of technique and terminology into their complex of social and religious habits, attitudes and thinking. These would be for defensive purposes and for adjustment also to the new situation, created by the presence and methods of Muslim rule. This defense-technique, created more or less unconsciously by the devout Hindus, would be determined largely in the very nature of the case by the former. It would take on therefore, largely unconsciously, certain Mohammedan elements in the effort to adjust to the new situation (1). Then on the other hand this new defense-technique itself would come into conflict with the already well-established and deeply rooted social and religious habits, attitudes and thinking within the Hindu group-life. Out of this would arise soon a more

or less conscious maladjustment, with its resulting social and religious ferment. In such a situation there would be those ready to cry out against innovations. They would be those, who, ignoring the fact that a new situation had emerged, would insist upon adhering to the ways and thinking of the Hindu past. On the other hand those, possessing the reforming spirit, would strive more or less deliberately after a compromise, or a new religious synthesis, such as we have already seen in the attitudes and thinking of a Kabir. Prof. Beni Prasad, in a recent work (2), puts the matter as follows: "when the history of mediaeval India comes to be written it will be seen that the fundamental fact about the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is the energetic spirit of protest against old creeds and formulas, resulting in the direct communion with the Supreme soul"...."Then it was that currents of Islamic sufism and Hindu bhakti combined in a mighty stream."

About half a century before the rule of the great Akbar, "Kabir", to quote this same author again, "had riddled current Hinduism and Islam with argument, invective, ridicule and banter, and left behind him" influences both of thought and feeling that had great germinating power in the hearts of the people. Yet there seem to have been "large sections of Hinduism" (3) where these unsettling elements exercised little or no influence.

The rule of Akbar marked not merely a long reign. It stood also for a new day in the relations of monarch to people, especially towards the Hindu populations of his Empire. His reign covers practically the whole of the mature life of Tulasi Das, whom tradition and scholarship generally place as being born in 1532 and as dying in 1623 (4). Akbar's reign, which covers the years from 1556 to 1605, spans almost all the years of Tulasi's reported literary activity, which it is said began in 1574 and continued until 1614 (5).

What were the outstanding factors that were operative in the situation into which Tulasi was born, and in which he lived and wrought as a religious leader ? It will be the purpose of this chapter to sketch in broad outline—nothing more can be attempted in a chapter—these significant political, economic, social and religious factors. It is obvious from a reference in Prof. Prasad's statement, quoted above, as well as from the works of others (6), dealing with this period, that much still remains to be done before a real history of these times can be written. Hence one must be content with a mere sketch. Furthermore it will be the purpose of this chapter to indicate also, as best one may, the few facts, which are available regarding Tulasi's life, whom both Smith (7) and Sir George Grierson (8) regard as one of the greatest men not only in India but even in Asia. While it may be open to question as to whether or not this is too high an estimate to place upon him, yet, when judged by the influence which his Ramayan has continued to ex-

ercise over millions of North India's peoples, we have in this religious leader and poet one to whom not only India, but also the whole world of men, who aspire after better things, is indebted.

Babur, the grandfather of Akbar and fifth in descent from Timur the Lame, has been called "the most brilliant Asiatic of his age" (9). Even from boyhood, when called to the chieftainship of Samarkand, and later, whether in Kabul or on the Plains of Hindustan, war and adventure were his daily portion. Whether within the borders of North India or beyond, his was a career of fighting. It would appear that he was glad to have it so. For neither the civil administration nor the consolidation of his vast dominions, which stretched from the Oxus to the borders of Bengal, did he seem to have either time or liking. This was one of the great tasks to which his grandson, Akbar, addressed himself. The territories in North India which Babur conquered were extensive. He held them, however, but insecurely. In fact it was not until twenty years after Akbar had ascended the Mogul throne that the authority of the Babur dynasty became secure in North India. It had been almost but lost during the years of Humayun's inefficiency and fugitive wanderings beyond India's borders.

This authority was established not merely by Akbar's brilliant military exploits, but also by his administrative reforms, chief among which was the changed attitude which he, as a Muslim ruler in contradistinction to his predecessors, took up towards the non-Muslim subjects of his Empire. He had the wit to recognize early that, if his throne was to be firmly established, it must rest not upon the feality of his co-religionists, who were greatly in the minority, but rather upon the broad basis of a common loyalty, voluntarily given by his non-Muslim as well as by Muslim subjects. Hence he gave Hindus equal rights with Muslims and admitted them to the highest grades of office in the army as well as in the civil administration. One of his early acts in this policy of conciliation was his first marriage with a Hindu Rajput princess. Later other marriages followed with other Rajput princesses. A few years after the beginning of his rule he abolished the taxes levied by his predecessors on Hindu pilgrims; and remitted the poll-tax on non-Muslims. These reforms, it is held, were the outcome of his own "originality and courage" and not from the initiative "of Abu-l Fazl and the other persons, whose names are associated with his later policy in matters of religion" (10). Reforms, such as these, transformed the character of his Empire. Hinduism was again given freedom; and hence the feeling of the Hindus towards the rule of the Mogul became greatly altered.

In 1556 when young Akbar came to the throne he held only a precarious authority over certain areas stretching between Agra and Peshawar. Then Rajputana owned the sway of the Rajput

chiefs. Various Himalayan states likewise, including Kashmir which he annexed in 1586 after a war of conquest, were independent. Bihar, Bengal and parts of Orissa were then in the hands of an Afghan dynasty. Malwa, as well as Gujarat, was under the rule of an independent chief. True, for a time Akbar's father had occupied the latter. Then in 1572 by a brief and brilliant campaign it was again made a part of the Empire. This not only extended widely the area of Akbar's dominions. It greatly enhanced also the Imperial revenues by means of the commerce which passed to and fro through Surat and other western seaboard shipping centres. This pleased Akbar, for he loved money as well as power. It was his conviction that "a monarch should be ever intent on conquest, otherwise his neighbours rise in arms against him". He certainly had soaring ambitions for conquest not merely throughout Hindustan, both north and south, but far beyond its north-western frontiers. The latter he never fully realized. Nor was he able to fulfil his desires for conquest in South India. However, one by one the kingdoms in North and Central India were added to his dominions until in 1576, when he conquered Bengal, all the areas, which comprised the Gangetic and Indus river-valleys, with the exception of Sind which he conquered later, owned his rule. Later still other small states were conquered and added.

The conquest of Gujarat established a landmark in Akbar's rule as well as in his personal life. It brought him into contact with the Portuguese and things Western. This influenced his later life and policy not a little. His boundless curiosity, tinged largely with cupidity, and his insatiable appetite for novelty (11) led him for a time at least to cultivate the Westerners with such assiduity that there was a time when in Portuguese circles it was fully expected that Akbar would become a Christian. Nor were the Portuguese alone in this thought. It was also in Gujarat where Akbar had an opportunity to experiment with plans for assessment, upon the basis of which the land revenues should be collected. This conquest gave him the chance, which he greatly desired also of attempting certain administrative reforms. For example, he sought to decrease the local authority of his fief-holders. Their customary powers, long inherited, had tended to predispose them on occasion to break into open rebellion. He effected his purpose by dividing the Imperial dominions into suitable administrative divisions and by placing over them his own salaried officials. Naturally this involved a graded service for state officials, which was formed on military lines and worked out with great elaboration. It tended also not only to increase officialdom and those who were in the pay of the Imperial service, but also to develop greater efficiency in relation to Imperial administration. In particular it enhanced greatly the Emperor's personal authority and his revenue.

Although details are lacking as to the economic conditions, which prevailed generally in North India during the days of Akbar and his immediate predecessors, yet the scattered and fragmentary travel and journal notes as well as the observations, made by numbers of travellers and residents in North and West India during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, are sufficient and have enough in common to enable one to form a fairly well-defined sketch of general economic conditions in both rural and urban areas in the period under review. These travellers and residents were: such as certain Turks and Persians (12), Jesuit missionaries like Monserrate, who travelled across country from Surat to Agra to the Court of Akbar in 1580 and left us a record of his journeys (13), other Westerners, officials and travellers, who, like Sir Thomas Roe, left us a journal of his observations while resident at the Court of Akbar's son from 1615 to 1618, and other observant travellers such as Fitch, Finch, Bernier, Terry and Tavernier (14).

It would seem that in Akbar's day there was practically no independent aristocracy. The noble was either in the Emperor's service or patronage and hence subject to his orders, or else was his enemy. Akbar could endure no rivals within his realm. Stern measures with those of his own kin even marked the beginnings of his rule. The career, therefore, open to the upper classes was the service of the Emperor. Appointments to such service were directly under his orders. The tenure of such service was precarious. This tended to promote extravagance and waste among the higher ranks. Although these were comparatively few and, according to Moreland (15), were largely foreigners, yet they controlled the expenditure of a large part of the income of the country. The masses and the welfare of all such were entirely in their hands. The one dominant characteristic among the higher ranks was "the consumption rather than the production of wealth (16)." As would be natural under such circumstances much was spent on novelties and luxuries from abroad. In this Akbar set an example. He had supplies brought for his table from distant Badakhshan and Samarkand. A melon from the former place was priced at two and a half rupees, or about a pound sterling in modern values (17). There were also comparatively few of what might be called the middle classes, except the merchants at the seaboard centres of trade, who profited by the luxurious habits of the upper classes and aped their style of living to a greater or less extent. To these should be added the inland traders, who, if wealthy, had to feign penury in order that they might keep it. Then there were the educated, such as the doctor, artist, or writer. These all were few and in order to provide adequately for their needs they naturally for the most part sought to attach themselves either to the Imperial Court or to one of the provincial viceroyalties. Half a century later when Tavernier was travelling through the kingdoms of the Deccan he noted

that no one but kings and princes seemed to have doctors. Bernier, in commenting on conditions in Delhi a half century later than Akbar's time, stated that "there is no middle state (i. e. class). A man must be either of the highest rank or live miserably." However, for all these professions Akbar's reign afforded hope, even though from Abu-l Fazl's lists (18) a third of both the musicians and doctors and three-fourths of the poets were foreigners.

Of the labouring classes some were free. Others were slaves. The latter were recruited from various sources. Some came from Africa and Western Asia. These, however, were so expensive that they were counted a luxury. The sources from within India were by capture, voluntary and involuntary surrender. Akbar forbade his soldiers to capture slaves by raids. Involuntary surrender was in the case of such as criminals or insolvent debtors. Voluntary surrender into slavery, when it occurred, was often a case where parents in time of famine sold their children. Moreland states (19) that such was a normal practice not only in Akbar's day but for two centuries subsequently. Children were also kidnapped for such purposes. This practice was long prevalent in Bengal (20). Whether slave or free a surprisingly large percentage of this labouring class, especially in the urban centres, was occupied in catering to the personal needs of the classes that lived in luxury. However, this practice of having slaves obtained not merely among the upper classes. Della Valle states that in Surat "everybody, even of mean fortune, keeps a great family and is splendidly attended". On an average every fighting man in the army of Akbar's day had two or three servants. Each elephant in the royal stables had four servants, or even seven in the event it should be chosen for use by the Emperor. Among the free labourers the rates for service were, we are told, "absurdly low when stated in terms of modern currency" (21). From the above it will have been noted that much of the toil of the labouring classes was non-productive, catering to luxury.

In the villages the labourer was practically in the position of a serf. As a serf he was not at liberty to leave his village in search of work. Regarding the peasant himself, Moreland, on the basis of the data available, holds (22) that he did not have as much money to spend on clothes and other comforts as the village peasant to-day. In unfavourable seasons his economic condition might drop to the level of the labourer, War and rebellion or the oppression of officials, as well as famine, might also work havoc to village life. Although on the other hand an oft-quoted phrase of writers is, that not infrequently peasants might be seen ploughing in their fields adjacent to where battles were being fought, on the outcome of which the destinies of a large part of India depended. Vincent Smith, in reading Megasthenes' description of social conditions in upper India some twenty-two centuries ago, is led to note the fact that this description makes one aware that present up-country con-

ditions in social structure and in daily habits have been very slightly influenced by changes of rulers or by modern conditions. Furthermore conditions reflected in Law's Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity (23) in which he deals with the political and administrative regulations of the Arthashastra of Kautilya bear witness to the same general observation. It ought to be remembered also that caste with its cleavages and rigours, in spite of the teachings of Ramananda and Kabir, existed largely as it does to-day. However, there were not so many disintegrating factors operating in the social situation then as now.

The general aspect of the country in North India must have been then much similar to what it is to-day. True, there were no railways, canals, macadamized highways or industrial centres, like Cawnpore and Ahmedabad. There were, however, well defined routes through much of the country with rest-houses where the traveller might lodge for the night. Some of these routes at least were available for vehicle traffic. However, the navigable rivers then much more than now served for purposes of heavy traffic as well as for travel. The landscape with its flora and fauna in jungle and cultivated areas, its villages dotted here and there and peeping out amid clumps of trees must have been much as one sees to-day in rural areas in the North. There was, however, more jungle, especially in certain parts, than exists to-day. The "tarai" jungles extended much farther into the river-valley areas of the United Provinces and Bihar than is the case to-day. One result of this must have been: a larger number of jungle animals in greater proximity to many of the villages of that time. Moreover, near Agra large hunting preserves were maintained for Imperial pleasure. Among the hills south of the Ganges and Jumna elephants were common; while in Malwa lions roamed the jungles.

The houses in the villages were largely as they are to-day: walls of mud, sun-dried brick, or wicker-work and roofs of thatch, or country tile. Even in the cities the houses of the masses were "huts and hovels", as Monserrate states in his journal, "and to have seen one city is to have seen all". This Jesuit missionary not only made the journey from Surat to Agra, but in addition travelled with Akbar and his army through Lahore and even as far as Kabul, Afghanistan. Concerning the cities through which he passed his observation is that while from a distance their appearance is attractive, "but inside them all the splendour is lost in the narrowness of the streets and the hustling of the crowds. The houses have no windows. Rich men have gardens, ponds and fountains within their walls, but externally there is nothing to delight the eye".

Aside from the Imperial capital there were other large urban centres, such as Delhi, Allahabad, Ujjain, Ahmadabad and Ajmere.

Some of these centres European travellers of that time in India have compared in respect to size, as well as in other features, to cities with which they were acquainted in Europe. It ought to be remembered however, that industrial and commercial centres like Cawnpore and Karachi, or the larger Bombay and Calcutta cosmopolitan centres belong to times subsequent to Akbar.

However, the period that knew Akbar looked upon many a curved line of beauty or of massive strength in his Imperial capital, as well as in those other cities which were capitals in earlier days. The India of Akbar's day and earlier by no means lacked a real sense of beauty or an appreciation for art. Alberuni, who had looked upon the beauties of a Baghdad, was impressed not only with the wealth of Indian cities, but also with the beauty of Indian architecture. Even the casual perusal of works on Indian architecture, arts and crafts, such as those of Smith (24), Havell (25), Ferguson (26), and Coomaraswamy (27), is sufficient to impress one with the above general observation. Akbar in his time encouraged greatly both art and building. Almost every form of art appealed to his versatile mind. He had a fine judgment in architecture. The touch of this taste may be seen in Agra, in the deserted palace-city of Fathpur-Sikri and in many other centres within the bounds of his one-time dominions.

In turning now to consider in some greater detail the great Bhakti revival in the North, already referred to briefly (28), which has been gathering increasing momentum and popularity as one approaches the times of Tulasi, and which was accompanied by a corresponding intellectual quickening, it is well to note some important facts. In the first place a new influence from outside India had begun to effect the Hindu religious life of the North. This was the Muslim faith. Dr. Farquhar finds it scarcely noticeable in the literature before the opening of the fifteenth century (29). He ventures the conviction, however, that further investigation is likely to place the beginnings of this influence a half century earlier. This influence seems to have come in through the Sufi development in Islam. It had most in common with certain phases of the ascetic development. Kabir, perhaps more than anyone else, as we have already noted, was the great pioneer in promoting this influence. This same scholar is inclined to think that the Mohammedan conquest with its consequent destruction of Hindu schools and other religious establishments and the attendant neglect of Sanskrit study may account in part at least for the remarkable increase in the literary use of the various vernaculars from the fourteenth century onwards.

In tracing the factors which promoted this new influence mention must be made of the part played by the Court of the Muslim rulers. Although Arabic was their sacred language, yet their

literary and Court language was Persian. It was rich not only in variety and extent but also in its elegance of style. As was natural it came to pass that the Hindus, attached to the Court, cultivated its use. Hence when Urdu arose its models were Persian. However, the influence of Persian went still farther afield. Athough the Hindi vernacular has its own separate development, nevertheless, it is clear that the standards of literary elegance, current in Persian, came in to influence the former. This is clearly noticeable in the middle of the sixteenth century when new literary standards make their appearance in Hindi. Akbar lived in the midst of this growing time.

Although earlier Muslim rulers had given some encouragement to literature, yet it was to Akbar among these rulers that the Mogul period is most indebted for a new literary development, one phase of which—and it was a large one—was deeply religious. Books in various languages were in a library established by him. Such works as the Bhagavata Purana were put into Persian. He was a liberal patron of poets not only at Court, but elsewhere throughout his Empire. He made Raja Birbal, a Kanauji Brahman, his poet-laureate. Tan Sen, a Hindu of Gwalior, who had become a Muslim, was his court musician. He was also a writer of Hindi verse. Ram Das, the father of the blind Sur Das, was also a noted musician at Akbar's Court. There were other noted poets, such as Ganga Prasad and Abdul Rahim Khankhana, who wrote in Hindi. The latter, who was perhaps one of the most noted in Akbar's day, was a son of Bairam Khan, who in the Emperor's youth assisted him to a secure place on the Mogul throne. Abdul is said to have befriended Tulasi Das.

The cultivation and encouragement of Hindu culture was clearly one of the features of Akbar's liberal policy. Through the gifts and allotments of his predecessors Muslim religious institutions had secured land and endowments. In the early years of Akbar's reign especially, he seems to have continued this policy towards his co-religionists. In addition, however, he, in keeping with his attitude towards his non-Muslim subjects, extended this same policy toward Hindu temples and to other of their religious endowments to the great displeasure of Badaoni, who refers to it when describing the revision of grants, made by Sheikh Abi-un Nabi, upon appointment to this authority. It appears, moreover, that this liberality of the Emperor toward religious endowments was rather a serious drain upon the Imperial revenue.

The observations of contemporary writers make it plain that then as now there were very many wandering holy men, both Muslim and Hindu. For the most part these were the devotees of some chosen deity or guru. There is evidence also that pilgrimages were popular. These holy men and the pilgrim centres then as now

promoted the processes of communication, especially those that are associated with religion.

Up until the time which corresponds roughly with the Muslim conquest of North India almost all the literature which appeared was written in Sanskrit. However, as the Bhakti revival grew apace in the North the vernaculars came more and more into religious and literary use. It has been noted already how this happened in the Maratha country; and of the part which Ramananda and Kabir played in North India as pioneers in this new religious development. Nanak of the Punjab, who is placed between 1469 and 1538 A. D., ought also to be mentioned as one who both shared in and promoted this religious development. It remains now to mention others, who were sharers with them in this revival. Among the earlier not a few were devotees of Krishna. Jayadeva, for example, who belongs in Bengal in the closing years of the twelfth century, wrote his Gita Govinda in the sacred Sanskrit. Early in the fourteenth century Krishna hymns began appearing in Bengali. By the middle of the fifteenth century a Vaishnava poet of Darbhanga, Bihar, whose name was Vidyapati Thakur, in addition to several works written in Sanskrit, made himself famous by sonnets in the Maithili dialect of Bihari. Umapati Dhara, who is classed as a contemporary of his, wrote similar hymns not only in Maithili but also in Bengali. These also were in praise of Krishna. The former became the founder of a school of singers, whose influence in Bengal became very widespread later (30). Many of his Maithili sonnets were put into Bengali later and became very popular through the work of Chaitanya (31). Chandi Das is another noted name of the period, connected with the Bhakti revival and the early Bengali literary development. Turning towards Western India we find in the last half of the same century in Gujarat a devotee of Krishna, named Narsingh Mehta, who wrote lyrics in that vernacular. Mira Bai, concerning whose date there is more or less uncertainty, is classed as the most famous of Hindi vernacular poetesses. Her lyrics in praise of Krishna are in the Braj Bhasha dialect. S. S. Mehta, who discusses the problem of her date at some length (32), places her birth as late as 1498. Farquhar (33) and Keay, however, (34) place her "floruit" about a quarter of a century earlier. A princess of Jodhpur, Rajputana, she became wedded to the heir-apparent to the throne of Mewar. However, he died before he came to the throne. As a widow she was so ill-treated by her brother-in-law, who had seized the throne after the murder of the father, that she left Chitor and became a disciple of Rai Das, a Ramanandi. The latter, as a disciple of Ramananda, was of course a devotee of Rama. Hence it is not clear why she should have chosen a Ramanandi as her guru. This much is clear, however, that while her lyrics are concerned primarily with praising Krishna, yet the name of Rama for the deity also appears. Other

outstanding Krishna devotees of this period and a little later were Vallabhacharya and his son, Vitthalnath. Although the writings of the former seem to have been in Sanskrit only, yet out of the religious sect of Krishna, which he founded, many religious writers in Hindi arose. His son became not only the leader of this sect, but as tradition states, a writer of Hindi verse and of a short prose work, called Mandan. The original disciples of father and son were eight in number. Hence they were called the Ashta Chhap—the Eight Seals—"producing genuine poetic coin" (35). Sur Das was one of these to whom reference has been made already in this chapter. He was a contemporary of Tulasi Das. He was counted a "singer of wonderful power" (36). Many portions of the Bhagavata Purana were set into poetry by him in the Braj dialect.

These all were but the outstanding religious leaders and singers of a still larger number, who sang, wrote and preached in the homely vernaculars of the people; and many of these were, as has already been stated, from among the lowliest of the people. It was to singers, writers and religious leaders, such as these, that the people turned in these times, rather than to the repositories of old and sacred culture, such as obtained among the champions of Vedic beliefs and ritual. This language and literature of devotion which grew to such proportions in the North throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as had been the case in the South during the previous centuries, became to great masses of the people both the inspiration and the vehicle for expressing religious devotion. This language and its literature were in striking contrast to the scholasticism of the Vedic and philosophical schools. It was this language of the heart which the masses understood and in their devotion, which, in the case of Krishna especially, was not centered on a wholesome or worthy object. Hence they not infrequently responded with such abandon and ecstatic violence that this religious development broke over into wild and orgiastic religious eroticism (37).

It remains now to make some brief reference to Akbar's personal religious history and programme for religious reform, as they undoubtedly had some influence also in creating the situation in which Tulasi Das lived. Akbar's religious life and opinions have been greatly discussed. Beveridge (38) thinks that "he has received much more credit than he deserves for the depth and fervour of his religious feelings". This writer considers that he was primarily a ruler "immersed in affairs, and religion was only the occupation of his leisure hours". On the other hand, however, Vincent Smith would give a large place in his life to things religious. Brought up as a Sunni the early years of his reign, as he himself acknowledges, saw him a persecutor of heretics. However, even in boyhood he became acquainted, through a tutor, with the Persian Sufis. They seem to have had a profound influence upon his life.

Smith classes him as a life-long mystic. For example to quote this writer (39) "on several occasions he saw visions, which seemed to bring him into a direct communion with the Unknown God". This same author considers that he suffered from some form of epilepsy, which he holds explains his repeated attacks of melancholia and his restless activity, both of mind and body, in which he hurried from one diversion to another.

However large a part Sufism may have played in modifying Akbar's religious practice and thinking there were other influences also which co-operated. The Hindu yogis and sannyasis were much in his society. Badaoni held that the heresies of his later life were the result of his associations with Hindus from boyhood and of his early marriages with the daughters of Rajput chiefs. Other religious influences played upon his life from Jain, Parsee and Christian associations. It is also claimed that Sheikh Mubarak and his two sons, Abu-l-Fazl and Faizi, especially the former, influenced him greatly in seeking to set up an eclectic religion, which would practice the principle of universal toleration. Although this principle seems to have been applied in relation to non-Muslims, he forgot it when it came to the question of his co-religionists. For example he prohibited them from killing cows and restricted their use of beef. This new religion he called "Din Ilahi", i.e. the "Divine Faith". God was one and Akbar was his vicar on earth. This latter phrase gave grave offense to his traditional co-religionists. Later on, it is claimed, he restricted its use to a few people in the harem. It would appear that he desired to make himself similar to Jesus. For example, he was born on Jesus' traditional birthday—a Sunday. It is said that he approved of his mother being styled, "Miriam-makani", meaning "of the household of Mary". Akbar, according to Elphinstone, seems to have mixed a good deal of Hindu and Parsee superstition with his Deism. For example, according to the statement of Abu-l-Fazl (40) such as the following: "His Majesty maintains that it is a religious duty and Divine praise to worship fire and light", would seem to indicate that he was a fire-worshipper. It is quite probable that in later years Akbar could not himself have told what he was religiously.

It was into such a religious inheritance and social situation as have been sketched very briefly in the preceding paragraphs that the man Tulasi Das came. His name is more commonly spelled as well as pronounced "Tulsi Das". The known facts about his life are very few indeed. However, much tradition has gathered about his name. As already indicated, he is said to have been born in 1532 A. D. The place of his birth is uncertain. Some locate it in Hajipur near Chitrakut and others in Hastinapur. The most common tradition, however, is of Rajpur, in the District of Banda. Tradition has it that his father's name was Atma Ram and

that of his mother Hulasi. His own original name is given as Rambola. His caste also is more or less a matter of uncertainty. Some authorities make him a Smarta Brahman of the Parasara gotra; others that he was a Kanyakubja Brahman of Kanauj. He was married to one who was a great devotee of Rama. A son born to them died. Thereafter the wife returned to her parents. Tulasi, who was devoted to her, followed her to her parents' home to be met with the rebuke that if he were only as devoted to Rama as to her the seemingly impossible could be accomplished—"the earth would become gold". Stung by this rebuke and seeing in it a call he went out into the "homeless life" never to return.

From one of his verses (41) it would appear that his parents abandoned him immediately after his birth. Grierson suggests (42) that it is highly probable he was one of those children, who having been born under an unfortunate star, it was held would destroy its father. Hence the procedure which was deemed necessary in such cases, was either to abandon such a child at birth, or to dispose of it in such a way that for the first eight years the parents might not look on its face. The story goes that a wandering mendicant met up with it; and showed the child mercy. In the ceremony which followed for its purification the tulasi plant, was used, hence his name, "servant of the tulasi". This sadhu, whom Grierson considers was probably his guru, Narahari Das, took him on pilgrimages all over northern India. From him he learned the story of Rama (43). This guru is said to have been the the sixth in preceptorial descent from Ramananda. After Tulasi grew up and spent a brief life as a householder he became a sadhu, as already stated, and for a time made Ayodhya his headquarters. From there he journeyed here and there over north India preaching the story of Rama. While in Ayodhya he began writing the Ramayan in the language of the common people, namely the Hindi dialect of that district, which is called Baiswari or Eastern Hindi. Its literary descendants are the modern colloquials of Rewah and Oudh (44). This task was undertaken in response to a command received in a dream from Rama. It was begun in 1574 and finished in 1584 in Benares, whither he had gone because of some difficulties on points of discipline, which arose in the former city with the religious group among whom he lived. Much of his later life seems to have been spent in Benares. Tradition has it that he visited Chitrakut, Soron (or Sukar-khet, where according to his Ramayan (45) he studied), Allahabad, and Brindaban, the great northern centre of Krishnaism. Although Benares, where he spent the later years of his life, was a great centre of Shaiva worship, yet the respect for Tulasi became very great indeed. At Asi Ghat in that city his room and idols are to be seen still. As a poet his name spread far and wide. It won him many friends and followers. Raja Man Sing of Amber and Abdul Rahim Khankhana, reference to this latter has been made

already, were two of his more important friends. Todar Mall, a wealthy landowner of Benares (46), was another. The author of the Bhaktamala, a poem in Western Hindi, was Nabha Das. In his work he refers to Tulasi and is said to have been one of his friends.

In 1616 India suffered from a great scourge of bubonic plague, which is said to have lasted eight years. One of the poet's lesser works (47) refers to an attack from which he suffered. His death, which occurred in 1623 some time after this attack, seems to have been a result of lowered vitality caused by the earlier trouble.

The above brief notes are about all the available data concerning the life of this remarkable religious poet-leader. It is in his literary work that we get an insight into the fine spirit and passion of this devotee of Rama. As a Smarta Vaishnava, however, he was not only a worshipper of Rama. In addition he adhered to traditional Hinduism and practiced the rules of his caste. This meant that he was also a worshipper of Shiva. This is made plain in his Ramayan (47). It involved also the taking of his meals apart. These latter practices brought him into conflict with the more thoroughgoing Vairagi Vaishnavas, who ate in groups, cast aside tradition and worshippped none save Vishnu or one of his incarnations. This was the group, according to Grierson (48), with which he associated and had trouble during his stay at Ayodhya.

The skilful hand of this word-artist of homely Hindi was made yet more skilful and delicate in touch by the deep devotion he bore his hero-deity. However, his praise and high devotion to Rama do not exhaust themselves in this one work alone. The same spirit of praise and devotion to Rama breathe through practically all his works, which have, come down to us. As has been stated by Grierson (49), more than a score of formal productions, in addition to numerous short poems, have been accredited to his pen. But some are certainly not his and as to others it is doubtful. Twelve are most generally accepted as his. Aside from the Ramayan they are as follows: Vinay-Patrika, which consists of hymns in praise of Rama and by some is considered worthy of a place beside the Ramayan, Gitavali, Dohavali, Krishnagitavali, Kavitavali Ramalala-nahachhu, Vairagy-sadipini, Barawai-Ramayan, Janaki-mangal, Parvati-mangal and Ramagyan-Prashn. In this list it will be noted that with the exception of two works they all deal in some way or other with Tulasi's hero-deity.

When Tulasi wrote in the Baiswari the period in which early Hindi developed out of the ancient Prakrits had about come to its close (50). This type of literature was represented in the old heroic literature of Rajputana as well as in that of the Vaishnava reformers. Moreover much of the poetical literature which was produced during the centuries under review in the North, was connected

with one or other of the various developments of Vaishnavism. Hindi therefore in the beginning centuries of its development is to a surprisingly large degree a religious literature.

Grierson calls attention to the fact that Tulasi's Ramayan exercised a much larger influence than if it had been composed in a dialect of Western Hindi, such as the Braj dialect. The Baiswari, which is easily understood throughout the whole Gangetic river-valleys, is a form of speech that stands midway between Western Hindi on the West and Bihari, one of the principal languages of Eastern India. Hence his work was intelligible to the speakers of both of these groups of languages (51). This meant that it became understandable as well as greatly prized to millions of Hindus living "between Bengal and the Punjab and between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas".

Although Tulasi wrote in the Baiswari, yet, as Kellogg observes (52), "he allowed himself the utmost freedom in drawing grammatical forms from various Hindi dialects, and even from the Prakrit and Sanskrit (Or is it as Grierson thinks (53) the he was never a good scholar in the latter tongue), as the exigencies of the metre or his fancy often might suggest". In this very freedom of his we have the evidence that he was concerned in something much greater than writing poetry in correct traditional style. This would have been Sanskrit with its greatly elaborated rules as to the proper use of words and figures of speech. Tulasi was well aware that in departing from the beaten track of standardized, poetic form he was inviting attack from pandit circles. He has given us his answer (54) to this attack which he anticipated his production would call forth from sticklers for form.

He did not write in Sanskrit for he was much more than a poet, writing for a cultured few. He desired most of all to reach the masses of the people with his message about his hero-diety, Rama. This willingness to brave criticism, which he was keenly aware would fall upon him because of his choice to write his story in the vulgar dialect of the common people, is adequate evidence that he was one who possessed not merely unselfish ideals, but also that he had something of the prophet spirit, calling people to what he counted as higher interests. The very fact that he could keep on at this task in the face of opposition shows that within his own life he had built up what might be called an ideal world-order in which his deity, Rama, was the centre and sustainer. Although there are other deities, Rama to him is the Supreme and takes the place of the cosmic Brahman, with whom at times he is identified (55).

While other Vaishnava teachers and reformers concerned themselves with forming sects, Tulasi put his convictions into the already "familiar framework of an ancient legend". For the most

part these others are forgotten. His name, on the contrary, is a household word, both in peasant's hut and raja's palace. Wherever Hindi is spoken his name is deeply revered. This was true, even within a century after his death.

However, the very popularity of his work has brought a grave problem; for it has greatly multiplied the re-handling of this, his more renowned work. Growse states (56) that as late as 1800 A. D. a manuscript in Tulasi's own handwriting existed in Rajpur, the town which, according to tradition, was founded by the poet himself. In that same year a devotee of his stole this copy and fleeing, because pursued, he threw it into the river from which it was recovered later. The water had damaged it so seriously that the central portion alone remained legible. It is said that in the temple there this fragment is still preserved. Previous to the publication of the Maharaja of Benares' issue of this work he is said to have employed a copyist to consult the original. Just what this meant is not known. So also is the reported "handling of the original manuscript" by one Mahant Ram Charan, who prepared a commentary on the text, which was printed in Lucknow by Naval Kishore. It is highly improbable that this statement has any reference to any real critical handling of the manuscript material. This is the task that waits upon someone who is really qualified to deal with it along the lines of historical criticism. There are many editions of this work. The one which at present is recognized as the standard has been issued by the Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Benares. In the tercentenary year of Tulasi's death this same Sabha issued a serviceable edition of this writer's principal works in three volumes.

The influence which this work has exercised over the millions of Hindus in North India is truly remarkable. In a large way Tulasi interpreted the needs and aspirations of the people of his day, and in the characters of Rama and the dutiful Sita gave to them two much purer and high-minded objects for their devotion than had thus far been offered in the whole Bhakti development. With the hand of a master-artist he has painted such a picture of a noble, high-minded Rama and his beautiful, faithful wife Sita, that these two have ever since remained in non-erotic Hindu circles and even beyond the models of kingly nobleness and wifely duty toward which the worthy of both sexes aspire. It is really hard to over-estimate the influence which these two high ethical objects of religious devotion have exercised on North India in saving the people from the crudities and licentiousness of the various primitive cults on the one hand, and on the other from the bestial and orgiastic practices of some of the Sakti phases of the Krishna worship.

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CHAPTER VII

THE PRESUPPOSITIONS AND SOURCES REFLECTED IN TULASI'S RAMAYAN.

Tulasi was born and nurtured in a social situation in which the social inheritance held the Rama legend as a part of its traditional material. Tulasi himself tells us (1) that as a boy he learned the story of his hero-deity from the lips of the one who adopted him. It is still uncertain, as has been indicated already (2), just how early this Rama legend became the concern of a cult. However, it is highly probable that inasmuch as the incarnation-notion had long since become a popular one, it would grow very quickly once it became attached to a pleasing and appealing hero, such as Rama.

However, traditional material is never passed on just as it is received from the earlier generation. Either consciously or—what is more generally the case—unconsciously it is modified to a greater or lesser extent in the process of passing on what has been received.

This is true in particular in cases where any special part of the traditional material comes to form the "stuff" out of which some new, religious technique is shaped up with a view to meeting some new, felt need. In the earlier chapters of this study, which is being pursued, attention has already been called to the fact that in the different emerging developments in India's religious history this process has received ample verification. For example, the sacrifice-traditional material, brought over from pre-Indian days, gathers to itself a growing importance. For reasons already stated it gets more and more into the focus of interest and attention. As it does so it becomes more and more modified, until in the last stages of the process it becomes the centre from which is projected a cosmic-construct. But sacrifice thus conceived has become vastly different from its earlier significance. This vast change grew out of the fact that this particular Aryan traditional material became the religious technique, par excellence, whereby certain religious needs in a certain social situation were sought to be met. As we have seen already the same process, with some varying features, characterized the ascetic development. This modification of traditional material is accelerated also to the extent that that portion of it, which comes into service in some new religious development, tends to give release to felt tensions and conflict points in the social situation. Furthermore the practices of such a technique become associated more or less intimately with emotional tone.

However, it is true that not only groups but individuals also tend to modify more or less consciously their traditional material

in the interests of changing situations. This is especially true in the case of leaders of groups and of those possessing the reformer's spirit. Although in the beginnings especially all such may be confined to the use of the terminology, current in their group's traditional material, yet, even so, they use it with a more or less qualified and specific meaning with intent to construct some type of ideal social order, which they are convinced should become actualized in their group's life. From the ideal social order in which all such ideally "live and move and have their being" they get inner reinforcement. This enables them not only to turn back and criticize the existent social order of which they form a part, but in addition it inspires them in endeavoring to bring in this new social order into their group. The Hebrew prophets furnish one of the most striking illustrations of such a process. However, it is by no means confined to them. This same process may be seen operating in the activities and thinking of everyone, who drinks deep of the spirit of the reformer. Tulasi to some extent at least possessed this spirit. It must be confessed, however, that it is not so marked in him as it was in Kabir. In many respects, as we shall have occasion to show presently, he was very much of a traditionalist. He comes to the writing of his Ramayan under the control of a certain definite purpose and with certain presuppositions, which are a part of the social inheritance of his day.

It will be the purpose of the present chapter to indicate, as best one may, both the presuppositions and the sources of Tulasi's work as they stand reflected in the Ramayan. The former of these tasks is much easier than the latter as real textual and sound literary criticism have not been employed as yet to separate out the various sources. Furthermore, it is not yet clear just how much of the Tulasi material may have been re-worked by later hands in the interests of some parallel or divisive religious development (3).

The social inheritance of every group, whether ancient or modern, carries within itself and promotes also the currency of a vast amount of traditional material that has never been critically examined. This material is almost infinite both as to its variety as well as in its relationships, not alone with the ancestors of the group or groups in which this material has become current, but also with the god and demon world of these ancestors. This traditional material, among other things, consists of stories having ancestral and religious significance, which are to be found embedded not only in an ancient, sacred literature, but also in oral tradition, and in current songs. It consists also of social institutions, such as caste, with all its related customs, habits, attitudes and notions. It is made up also of customary religious habits, attitudes, notions and speculations, whether crude or more or less philosophical. The operation of all such in any group breeds a vast progeny of notions,

codes and faiths, which all go to make up what bears the name of traditional material.

The masses of any group, who live largely according to the social inheritance and its traditional material, are naturally prejudiced in favour of this material, as they have been nurtured in it constantly from their childhood. Consequently it is closely integrated with all their activities and thinking. Moreover its long usage and general currency in the group have tended to give the material a more or less pronounced emotional tone. This in turn promotes among these masses strong inhibitions to the critical handling of all traditional material, and in particular that which is connected with religious practices and thinking as it all comes reinforced by divine sanctions.

One of the fundamental differences between modern groups and those that have been retarded in developing a general and liberal culture is in the attitude of such groups towards the traditional material, especially that element of it which is connected with religious practices and beliefs. The growingly modern group, in which historical-mindedness has begun to exercise a powerful influence, has become sufficiently objective-minded with reference to its traditional material as to possess both the courage as well as the insight to see the necessity for the critical handling of its traditional material. The great scientific, historical, and social science disciplines of the present-day West have been the major factors in promoting this newer type of mind. The fundamental motive in such a handling of a group's traditional material is for the most part worthy and deserving of high praise. It is with a view to the elimination of the foolish and harmful and the conservation of the good in all such material in order that it all may be based upon deeper and more enduring foundations. However, from the standpoint of a backward and retarded racial or religious group such a handling of traditional material, whether social or religious, is not only a most reprehensible heresy, worthy of punishment in the lowest hell, but also the most heinous of sins.

Many Western groups have long since begun the critical examination of the traditional material of their own as well as that of others with a conviction and a thoroughness that have yielded large results. Some of these latter, however, have been injurious to the groups concerned, largely and for the most part only in cases where the dominating motive has been destructive rather than constructive. Wherever and to the degree that the major purpose has been the latter, the important results have been wholly good. As yet in India this process of examining critically the traditional material of racial, religious, or caste groups has hardly begun. The reasons are obvious and have been indicated above. Such work as has been done thus far has been very largely that of Westerners; and it is

with regret that one is compelled to state that in not a few cases the dominant motive has been destructive rather than constructive. On the other hand, however and in the case of only a small number from the West, the handling has been so fulsomely sentimental that one cannot call it a critical examination of India's traditional material with a view to finding what is in the interests of true social and individual development and what is otherwise. The writings (4) of Miss Margaret Noble (Sister Nivedita) is an illustration of this sentimentalist type; while such works as that of Abbe Dubois (5) furnish one for the former. Neither the one type nor the other uses the critical methods in a legitimate or wholesome manner. However, from the beginnings of the awakening of Western interest in India and her ancient culture a growing group of Western scholars has continued distinctively constructive in the treatment of her traditional material. In these days they are being ably supported and in some cases even surpassed by a comparatively small, yet rapidly growing group of Indians of ripe scholarship, schooled more or less definitely in the disciplines of the historical and social sciences. These scholars, such as the two Bhandarkars and Radhakrishnan, to mention but three, are bringing critical methods to bear upon the examination of some phase or other of India's vast array of traditional material. As is natural and as is especially true in India, their splendid efforts are looked at askance, and not infrequently with grave discredit by those who are wedded to India's past. All such historical-minded scholars are worthy of high praise. Theirs is a difficult task, which demands a high degree of moral courage to enable them to keep on at their task. The dead weight of tradition and the attendant and age-long accumulated emotional tone, with which this traditional material is suffused, stand as vigorous opponents across the pathway of all such scholars and their task. However, the pathway is being cleared, even though slowly.

When one begins to turn even casually the pages of Tulasi's work one's mind very quickly becomes impressed with the wild, exuberant growth of traditional material, which springs from India's past, and is rooted even down to the present in her social inheritance. Its variety and extent, as exhibited in Tulasi's Ramayan, are almost endless. In some manner or other it is related with things animate and inanimate, such as gods, demons, men, animals, birds, fish, mountains, rivers, lakes and forces of nature, in fact, practically everything that is supposed to exist in earth, sea, or the heavens.

Hence the presuppositions in this work are many indeed. We turn now to refer more or less briefly to the more important of these. First among such presuppositions one may mention the Hindu ages of the world. These are presupposed in Tulasi's work (6).

This theory of the four ages of the world became established during the period of the Epic and the Puranas (7). These ages are: the Krita, Treta, Dvapara, and Kali. These, as Jacobi informs us (8), were terms which in the period of the Brahmanas, were employed to describe the four faces of the dice cubes! It would be interesting to know how it came about that these terms first came into use in the working out of this doctrine. Do we not get an insight here into how many—both rulers and holy men even—spent their leisure hours? Krita, the lucky side of the cube, has four dots. Hence, in that age religion was at its perfection. Then all were good and devout. Treta is the side with the three dots, Dvapara has two and Kali only one. In this same diminishing rate each succeeding age registers the decline in true religion and devotion. There is also a descending scale in the length of years in each age. Each age also has a dawn and a twilight with a corresponding decrease in length. The Krita age lasts four thousand years and has a dawn and twilight of four hundred years. Whereas Kali, the last and worst in which Tulasi as well as people of to-day live, is only a thousand years in duration with a hundred years of dawn and twilight. These four ages form a Mahayuga, or great age, and a thousand of these latter form a Kalpa, the period, which it is held, lies between each successive creation and destruction of the world. This theory that the world is the object of periodic creations and destructions is indeed very old. Jacobi holds that it is inferred from X. 8. 39,40 of the Atharva-Veda (9). This same scholar is inclined to think that originally the Mahayuga was supposed to represent the entire span of the world's existence. According to Hindu tradition Rama lived in the last period of the second age, while the Great War, which is described in the Mahabharata, it is held, was fought at the close of the third age. Tulasi in this work refers again and again to the fact that his is the Kali age. In the earlier ages sacrifice and ascetic meditation were adequate to attain salvation (10). But in this worst of all ages Rama alone (11) can bestow such a boon. In the Kali age the whole world is filled with deceit, violence, pride, enmity, heretical doctrines, arrogance, appalling ignorance, sensuality and all other imaginable evil passions. The powers of darkness are worshipped with vows, fastings, prayers and sacrifice. Although the rice is sown it does not germinate; and the gods withhold rain from the earth (12). This is the world in which Tulasi lived and he had no hope for its betterment. Even a real devotee of Rama is hard to find in such an age (13).

Questions as to the origin and structure of the universe as well as cosmological problems, that developed therefrom, began to be reflected in the early literature as far back as the time of that remarkable one hundred and twenty-ninth hymn of the tenth book of the Rig-Veda (14). Speculations, such as this hymn reflects, are,

in India, as elsewhere, the early tokens of the emergence of thinking on some phase or other of the great cosmological problems. How long unrelated bits of this type of thinking had continued in the flux of the social inheritance prior to becoming registered in the structure in which we find it in this hymn, it is impossible to state. This much is clear: that at the time of the Rig-Veda widely differing notions were current. Efforts were made by the poets and others to bring these varying and more or less crude notions into some more orderly and rational relationship. However, as far as notions as to the origin of the world are concerned this was never accomplished successfully. Evidences of this are to be found reflected in the presuppositions of Tulasi's work. With reference to the structure of the universe, however, there has not been such wide divergences as is the case in the question of origins.

In the Vedic period the world was thought of as divided into three parts: earth, air and sky. The last division is not infrequently referred to as the heavens. However, when the notion of the Universe is expressed "heaven and earth" is the phrase most commonly used. These latter are regarded both as deities and again as the parents of the deities. This incongruity is thought of as a deep mystery, rather than as a contradiction. Then again it is sometimes one deity and sometimes all of them, taken together, that are thought of as producing the world. This work of producing the world is described by terminology and processes which were familiar to their every-day group experiences. The world was originally produced by sacrificing, according to some descriptions. By others, it was by weaving, by building, or by conception and birth. As illustrative of this last notion, Aditi stands as the female principle and Daksha as the male. The latter is thought of as the primeval male. His more common name is Purusha. The ninetieth hymn of the tenth book of the Rig-Veda is dedicated to him. Variations of this notion are to be found in later texts (15). This deity which is described as the cause of the world's origin has other appellations, such as Vishvakarma—"The All-Creator" (16). In another place he is addressed as Prajapati—"Lord of the subjects" (17). Later on this latter term comes to be the general one, used to describe the Creator. Hiranyagarbha, the golden germ, seems to have connections with the other two terms just mentioned, in which the deity is thought of originally as issuing from the primeval waters. This latter notion received further attention and development into the world-egg notion, as exhibited in the Satapatha Brahmana (18). In the Brahmana texts although several terms are used to designate the Creator of the world, yet Prajapati is the most common. When we turn to the Upanishadic literature, however, we frequently find Brahman, Atman, or some other abstract term used in the place of Prajapati. The growth of this rationalizing process has been dealt with already in an earlier chapter (19). At this stage of the development, as re-

flected in the Upanishads, this first principle of the Universe, after having created the latter, enters into its creation so that it is present in it; and although in some respects this first principle is different from its creation, yet in other respects it is identical therewith. However, even at this later stage of development in thinking there still remained a great variety of opinion on the problem of the origins of the world. Unity in any broad fundamental idea, inclusive of the lesser divergences, had not been achieved. The Vedic notions, regarding the structure of the Universe, continue through the Brahmana and Upanishadic periods.

When we come to the Epic and Puranic periods the description of the creation of the Universe is one of the five principal topics, dealt with in the Puranas. Hence, in this period there is an added effort to unify the differing theories, but without success. Jacobi has summed up (20) what these were. These systems, exhibited in greater detail in the Mahabharata and the Puranas, made use of the Sankhya philosophical system upon which to base their cosmogonic theories. Early ideas out of which the Sankhya scheme of thinking took its beginnings may be found in notions, such as those in the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad (21), where Atman in the shape of a man (the term "purusha" is used) is made the cause of the world. According to the Sankhya system, which became developed later, the two fundamental principles from which all else springs and which are mutually independent are: the Purusha, the soul principle, which is a silent onlooker like a spectator at a play, and Prakriti, matter or nature, which is like a dancing girl on the stage. This Prakriti is made up of three qualities, which are called gunas. They are darkness, activity and goodness, in a state of equilibrium. When this equilibrium is disturbed by the presence of the onlooker, Purusha, then the thinking substance, called Mahan or Buddhi, is evolved from the activity of Prakriti, the dancing girl. Then in turn Ahamkara is produced from which the conceit of individuality springs. This again produces the mind, the five organs of sense, the five organs of action and the five subtle elements. This last group through combining with one another, constitutes the five gross elements, which are space, fire, wind, water and earth. These form the Sankhya's twenty-five principles.

The above, which represents the fundamental features of the Sankhya, were not left unmodified by those who shaped up the descriptions of the origins of the world in those parts of the Mahabharata, which deal with this topic. They seem to have worked over the traditional material of the Sankhya school in the interests of the Vedic cosmogonic traditional material. A modification of Sankhya material has taken place also in the Puranas to bring it into agreement with the Vedantic doctrine regarding the unity of the Supreme Brahman. This is done by positing that the Purusha and

Prakriti of the Sankhya are nothing more than modes of the Supreme Brahman. Furthermore, in the Puranas this Supreme Brahman is identified now with one popular deity and now with another, according to the sectarian character of any particular Purana. For example, in the Vishnu Purana the Supreme deity is Vasudeva. Although he is originally and in reality one without a second, yet on the other hand this same deity is conceived of as existing in the two fundamental entities of the Sankhya: the Purusha and Prakriti, or the Pradhana (the term more commonly used), and Kala, thought of as time. This latter acts as the link connecting the two former. From these are evolved the succession of qualities and elements as set forth in the Sankhya. The Puranic notion, which is added to the above, is: that in the evolving process each successive element is encased in the one out of which it issues. For example, the world-egg is the gross elements, referred to above, which are combined in this form. This world-egg rests upon the primeval waters and which in turn, in addition to water, is surrounded also by wind, fire, air, Ahamkara, Buddhi and Pradhana, or Prakriti. In this world-egg the Supreme Brahman when characterized by the particular Sankhya quality (guna), which is activity, appears as Brahma, who is thought of as the Creator of the Universe and of all things therein. Then the Supreme, characterized as another of the Sankhya qualities: goodness, appears as Vishnu, who preserves the Universe until the end of a kalpa. Then in the end of a kalpa it is Rudra, who is but another form of the Supreme, by whom the Universe is destroyed. Thus it was that the Sankhya, which scholars hold quite generally was originally atheistic, became integrated, evidently through its general acceptance, with some of the outstanding features of the current mythology. Here we have the re-working of a philosophical system in the interests of popular beliefs. These mythological elements are many in the system of things, which is set forth in the Puranas. For example, in the beginning of a kalpa, Narayana, as a monster boar, brought the earth up from beneath the waters and created the four lower world-divisions: earth, sky, heaven and Maharloka. There are nine of these creations. Then, when the creation of the world had been completed by Brahma, he turned to create others like himself. As to the number and names of these the Puranas do not agree. Then Manu Svayambhuva was created by Brahma. From him a daughter was born and she was married to one of the "mind-born" deities, created by Brahma. Daksha was his name. He became the progenitor of a great many mythological creatures, many of these are personified vices and virtues.

The various notions about the divisions of the world were never welded into a unity. For example, in the Yogabhashya (22), which is ascribed to Vyasa and placed in the seventh century, A. D., the description given is not only more detailed but somewhat dif-

ferent from that, common to the Puranas. The entire system of worlds is represented as existing in the world-egg, which in turn is thought of as a very small part of the Pradhana or Prakriti. The entire system has seven divisions, one above another. The lowest, called Bhurloka, extends from the lowest hell to the summit of Meru, the fabled mountain where the gods have their palaces and pleasure parks. The three highest divisions form together the tripartite world of Brahma. The lowest, Bhurloka, is divided again into hells, Patalas and the earth. Of the hells there are seven, one above the other. There are also seven Patalas, one above the other. Above these last seven is the eighth, which is the earth with its seven continents. Each of these divisions is peopled with various beings. In the lowest dwell the Rakshasas, Bhutas, Pretas and other such beings, as are bent on doing evil. Here also are to be found many of the servants of the deities, such as the Asuras and Gandharvas. The deities in the highest divisions live by contemplation. Those that have attained to the second highest division, Tapaloka (an indication of the esteem accorded the ascetic way of life), are not reborn in a lower sphere. This whole schema of world-divisions bears the marks of those who were embued with ascetic ideas and aspirations. The schema of the worlds, set forth in the Puranas, although differing somewhat from that in the Yogabhashya, betrays similarly its ascetic sympathies. This latter system of worlds in the world-egg is in three divisions, the middle one being the earth. This portion is in the shape of an enormous disk some five hundred millions of yojanas in extent. It contains continents and seas and is surrounded by the great Lokaloka mountain. The upper division constitutes the heavens and the lower Patala. However, still another schema has currency in which the Universe consists of two main divisions, each in turn having seven subdivisions. The lowest subdivision of the upper main region is the earth. The lower main division, called Patala, is made up of the seven lower subdivisions. This whole schema makes up what has been called "the fourteen worlds". However, these have the hells added to them. These lie in the lowest parts of the Universe. However, their relations to the rest are not clear. In Manu (23) there are twenty-one such hells. But in the Vishnu Purana (24) there seems to be uncertainty about the number. Wilson in his great work on the Vishnu Purana discusses this point (25). Patala's regions are filled with all that is wonderful and beautiful. Here dwell the Nagas, Daityas and Danavas. Each of these lower regions is ten thousand yojanas in depth. According to some each yojana is equal to nine English miles; while according to others it is about five. The foundations of Patala are supposed to rest upon the head of an immense dragon, called Shesha Naga. Regarding the seven upper worlds it was held that at the end of each kalpa the lowest three suffer destruction. However, no one of these general schemes art-

iculates well with any other, which makes it clear that we have here strands of traditional material which have been brought together from various sources. These notions with their attendant confusion and vagueness, regarding the origins and the structure of the created Universe, are reflected frequently in Tulasi's work. They constitute one of its outstanding presuppositions.

The Maya doctrine is another prominent presupposition in the Ramayan (26). It is a part of the Vedantic philosophical development. Already a brief reference has been made to this doctrine (27). Traces of the use of this term begin to appear in extant literature as early as the Rig-Veda. There the term is used to describe certain remarkable powers, both natural and supernatural, as well as the quality of cunning. These powers and this cunning are called "maya". They are attributed alike to gods, demons and natural objects. For example, Indra by the power of maya conquers the demons, who on their part use this power also (28). By the use of maya this same deity assumes many forms (29). Similar powers are attributed to Rama (30). It is by means of maya also that the sun and moon succeed each other (31). In the Atharva-Veda (32) success in gambling may be secured by maya's aid. It is in the Shvetashvatara Upanishad (33) where this term begins to be used to designate not merely the skill of the one who uses the maya, but this also: the illusion, which is created in the mind of the one who beholds the skill. In the later philosophical thinking it is in this latter sense that the term is used almost exclusively. In the hands of Shankaracharya and the successors in his philosophical school it becomes the technical term for illusion.

With the growth of the Brahman-Atman speculation (34) grew also the tendency to deny the reality of the empirical world. In the time of the Upanishads this doctrine became firmly rooted. Evidence of this may be found as early as the Brihadaranyaka (35) and Chhandogya Upanishads (36). In the former it is taught by Yajnavalkya that when the Atman is seen, heard, apprehended and known, the whole Universe is known. In the latter it is declared that the Atman is all the world. However, in the Upanishads this notion is not as clear-cut as it becomes later. There still remains a recognition that the world does exist, even though the Atman is the sole reality. Furthermore, it is held in the Upanishads that ignorance is merely the absence of correct knowledge; whereas in the full-blown Vedantic thought it is rather an activity which deludes the self into accepting the illusion of the empirical world as real.

The philosophical system of the Vedanta is one of non-duality. Hence, its doctrine of maya sets it over against the Sankhya system of duality. The Vedanta teaches that the empirical world is non-existent. Its apparent reality arises through maya, which is due to

ignorance on man's part. Salvation comes to man when he realizes that he is not a separate individual, but rather one with the Brahman-Atman. Gaudapada's Mandukya Karika (37) is one of the most important early works on the Vedanta. Some place this author, one of whose pupils was a teacher of Shankaracharya, in the sixth century, A. D. However, others (38) place him as late as the eighth. In this work we have the Maya doctrine elaborated into a definite philosophical tenet. He built his thinking up around this doctrine. The empirical world is like the world of dreams: unreal, or like the rope taken for a snake. In the later commentaries, written by Shankara, the non-duality of Gaudapada's system of thinking was wrought into the shape in which it has continued ever since.

Both the terminology and the theories of the great philosophical schools of thought in India are reflected in many passages in Tulasi's work. In some of these in particular there is a mingling of both phraseology and ideas, taken from these various schools of thought. This is especially true in the first and last books of the Ramayan. In a chaupai (39) of the Uttarkand one runs upon clear evidence in terminology and thought of the Vedanta with its Maya speculation, also of the Sankhya and Yoga and something even of the Nyaya philosophy. For example, Rama is the "sachchidanandhan"—the totality of existence, knowledge and bliss. He is the one of whom no qualities can be predicated, the one who is beyond the range of either speech or perception. He is without form, without illusion. All this is Vedantic both in phraseology and ideas. Rama is the "vyapak" and the "vyapy"—the permeator and the permeated. These are technical terms in the Nyaya system. Rama is represented as "viraj"—passionless and "prakritipar"—beyond nature. Then again Maya is personalized as a dancing-girl on the stage, dancing before the onlookers. This phraseology, its ideas and symbolism are Sankhya-Yoga.

The Sankhya and the Yoga were originally two separate systems of thinking. The latter was also a system of practice. It is regarded generally as a part of the Sankhya; since the former appropriated the latter's principal doctrines concerning cosmology, psychology, emancipation, etc. In contradistinction to the Sankhya, however, the Yoga rejected the former's atheistic doctrines, even though the notion of a deity does not inhere naturally in the Yoga system. It was added only later and became increasingly prominent in this school of thinking—a witness to the strength of the needs of the human heart. The other distinct doctrine in which it differed from the Sankhya is in its emphasis upon absorption as the means whereby emancipation-knowledge is secured. It is this latter doctrine and its attendant practice which gives this system its name. The term "yoga" in its original signification means yok-

ing. Later it came to be a technical term to indicate separation of the self from the sense-world without and concentration of thought within. Yoga practice relates to a certain scheme of bodily attitudes, breath inhalation and exhalation, and the fixing of the gaze upon some definite point, such as the tip of the nose. These all are the external means whereby a condition of hypnosis is super-induced, which is called Yoga-sleep. This is regarded as a supernatural result, rather than what it really is: a serviceable hypnotic device to bring about the result sought. It is regarded as the great means for the attainment of emancipation. It was thought of as giving power to the yogi to perform marvellous powers, such as the ability to make himself infinitesimally small or even invisible, or on the other hand stupendously large. Hanuman (40) during his visit to Lanka and others of Rama's devotees, as well as Rama himself, possess these yogi powers. The Yoga system is the culmination of a long development of ascetic practice and thinking, which in our search for its beginnings takes us back to primitive conditions of life and thought (41).

Similarly the Vaisheshika and Nyaya systems of philosophy were originally separate. The latter, however, is largely only a further development of the former, from which it copied its cosmogony, its psychology and its doctrine of atoms. The Nyaya Sutras, in which Gotama, the founder's logic is set forth, were put into their present form, it is held, about the middle of the second century B. C. (42). However, this is more than a system of logic, as implied in the term. It represents a school of thinking in which it is held that all souls are infinite and eternal. They possess definite qualities. Its cosmology is akin to that of the other more important systems. Neither the Sutras of this system nor those of the Vaisheshika contain any reference to deity. Originally both systems seem to have been atheistic. Did the older Sankhya exercise any influence upon them (43)? Later when these two systems were combined; and although the deity was given a place in the combined system, yet it was only by courtesy, for there is no legitimate place for him in this system of thinking.

In all these systems of Indian thought there are certain characteristics, which are common. The cosmology held in common leads logically to the pessimistic attitude towards life and the world in general. Hence, another common characteristic which issues from and is promoted by the pessimistic attitude is the practice and thinking, which is common to the ascetic. Consequently, the thing most desirable for man is the suppression of all desire. This in turn will issue in emancipation from the misery of the present existence, and ultimately to the state of complete unconsciousness. This last is to be thought of as the "summum bonum" of human existence. This settled pessimistic attitude with all its attendant corollaries of

attitudes, thinking and striving is another of the outstanding presuppositions, reflected again and again in Tulasi's work (44). It leads one to raise the question as to the founders of India's philosophical systems: were they those who lived among their fellows in the work-a-day world, sharing in this work-a-day life themselves ? Or were they those who lived apart and isolated from such a life ? To share with one's fellows in the needed, every-day activities of human society tends to keep one hopeful, wholesome and sane in one's attitudes towards and thinking about life and the world. The man who continues to live either in isolation, or in a small self-centred group and apart from the common activities of humanity tends to become suspicious and biased in his attitudes and thinking in relation to his fellows and the world. Man was made to live with others and not in isolation.

Polytheism must be set down as a marked presupposition of the Ramayan of Tulasi. Alongside of the more or less elevated thought of the philosophical schools, crowds of greater and lesser deities are to be found. This impresses one in a strange way, when one comes new to such a study. However, to those who have become adjusted to these strange contrasts the sharp edges of the latter have become worn away through familiarity. "The tendency to deify" in Hinduism, as a recent writer (45) has well stated, "is inveterate". In fact there is nothing that may not chance to be laid hold of to serve in the creation of a new deity. There is nothing in the heavens above or on the earth beneath that may not be worshipped as a particular deity. Any kind of a deity or demon, or any animal, vegetable or other thing in nature may become the object of some one or other group's devotion. Such statements receive ample verification in the great range and variety of gods and godlings, that meet us in the pages of Tulasi's Ramayan.

Although Tulasi is a devotee of Rama, yet he offers the customary-worship to all the other deities, both great and small, in spite of the fact that he does not hesitate, when a chance is afforded him, to poke fun at one or other of the great traditional deities. For the great unnamed crowd of lesser deities Tulasi has scant regard. Whenever others prosper or are elevated to the high places in earth or heaven these are so little-minded and selfish that they are consumed with jealousy (46). The great Indra of Vedic times even has now descended to the rank of one of the lesser deities. He is utterly selfish, thinking only of his own pleasure (47), and acts like a crafty, thieving crow (48), or a snarling village pariah (49). Although Brahma, the Creator of the Universe, has a better disposition attributed to him than Indra, yet aside from the many set phrases by means of which the traditional honour is accorded to him, one gets the impression that he is a mere puppet-deity, who is made to pass across the stage before the spectators in order that a chance may

be had to deride him. He is both stupid and a coward (50). He does not have sufficient wit to understand the love, which exists between Rama and Bharata (51). When the lesser gods came trooping to him that they might be saved from the distresses, caused by the demon king, Ravana, because of the foolish boon (52) granted to the latter by Brahma, the traditional Creator of the Universe lacked so much of the spirit of leadership and wisdom that he did not know what to do (53). All such illustrative material furnishes abundant evidence that for the most part the traditional deities of the Vedic and Brahmanic pantheon had long since become so remote from the vital interests of the people of Tulasi's day that they could be made the butt of coarse jokes of a very compromising character. If the attitudes both of Tulasi and of the Hindu groups of his time had not long since become somewhat, as is indicated above, then Tulasi's cavalier attitude towards these particular deities is inexplicable. Therefore, we may count this attitude towards these particular deities as one of the presuppositions of his work. However, the matter cannot be dismissed at this point for it has large implications. As has been noted already, Tulasi was quite a thoroughgoing traditionalist. Consequently, it would not be expected that he should take such an attitude towards the deities of ancient India, were it not that there must have been a considerable amount of traditional material in the social inheritance of his day and earlier, that fostered this type of attitude towards the Vedic and Brahmanic deities. In what groups would it be natural to look for this type of traditional material, that would dare make light of the Vedic deities ? It would certainly not be among the orthodox groups, which made much of the Vedic ritual and the sacrifice-way of salvation. Such groups acknowledged all the deities and worshipped them with Vedic rites.

On the contrary traditional material, such as the above, would grow up and be fostered naturally among the sectarian groups. The Rama cult was one of these. Each such sect worshipped its own deity as the Supreme, whom it identified with the abstract Brahman of the Upanishads. There doubtless were other influences at work, in addition to these, promoted by one or other of the sectarian groups, which tended to disintegrate the old attitudes towards the Vedic deities, such for example as the factors which promoted the ascetic and bhakti religious developments, which in turn tended to discredit the practice and significance of the sacrifice, linked up with the Vedic deities. The Jain and Buddhist religious developments, and later the incoming of Muslim influence were all factors of greater or lesser importance in promoting such a changed attitude, as has been indicated above.

Although deities might be derided with impunity, even those which were the most reverenced in ancient times, yet it was quite

otherwise with reference to the Brahman. Not only in ancient times had great reverence been shown him, but what is more : reverence for him had grown so greatly that in Tulasi's work a status, even more exalted than many of the deities occupied, is accorded him without question. In fact it is stated that he has reached a position of such honour as can be attained by a deity only with great difficulty (54). One may poke fun at an ancient deity, like Indra, but under no circumstances must one ever show disrespect towards a Brahman (55). On the contrary, the way to please the god-world best is to reverence and serve the Brahmans (56). The wrath of a Brahman is terrible. One may endure the wrath and curse of Vishnu or of death even, but there is no one, either in heaven or hell, who can deliver an offender of a Brahman from his wrath or curse (57). His curse never fails of fulfilment (58). Moreover, the Brahman race is beloved of Rama (59). Therefore, even though a Brahman should curse, beat or abuse one, yet he should still remain the object of one's reverence (60). In fact a Brahman, we are told in this work, must be honoured, even though he should be devoid of every virtue and merit (61). However, it should be otherwise regarding one's attitude towards a Shudra. He should never receive honour, even though he might be endowed with every virtue and possessed of great learning. All this unquestioned reverence towards the Brahman, which is reflected everywhere in Tulasi's work, suggests to one not only the question as to whose were the hands that busied themselves in shaping up this traditional material, which accords such inordinate distinction and reverence to the Brahman, but this also: does not this excessive praise of and emphasis upon reverence for the Brahman get its significance from the fact that a good deal of *irreverence* towards the Brahman must have existed in the social situation out of which this particular traditional material with its Brahman emphasis grew up ? In fact, such a state of things, as is suggested in the second question just raised, is clearly reflected in one passage in Tulasi's material (62). There were many who were disobedient not alone to their parents, but also to guru and Brahman as well. Such as these, were the special torment of the Brahmans and the deities. If such experiences had not had a basis in fact, but were purely imaginative, then why should Tulasi refer to them ? One might add also that divine sanctions are great aids, among unlettered masses especially, in establishing and standardizing such attitudes and habits as are deemed religious in significance. And what is more: they cover a multitude of difficulties for all those, whether unlettered or otherwise, who are wedded to the perpetuation of all traditional material, considered religiously significant, as it has been handed down from the fathers. It would appear, therefore, that as far as the question of Brahman supremacy was concerned, Tulasi was a thoroughgoing traditionalist. This is one of the outstanding presuppositions of his work.

There are other reasons also, furnished by the Ramayan, for classing Tulasi as a traditionalist in many of his religious attitudes and thinking. For example, he accords great reverence and praise to the Vedas. Those who revile the Vedas are very wicked (63). There must have been those who did so. Otherwise, what point is there to such an observation ? The religious practices prescribed in the Vedas are to be kept (64). Rama loves best those Brahmans, who study the Vedas (65). In fact Tulasi refers constantly to this body of scripture, asserting that his teaching in the Ramayan is according to it. However, with all due respect to Tulasi, one cannot but raise the question as to whether or not he really knew the Vedas. He calls Indra a vile wretch, a crow—crafty and disreputable. He states that there is no limit to his deceitfulness and villainy (66). If he were really acquainted with the Vedas and reverenced what is written therein, then how could he apply such terms of disrespect and opprobrium to the greatest deity of Vedic times ? It is more reasonable to hold that he really did not know the Vedas; for Tulasi was too much of a traditionalist to exhibit knowingly such disrespect towards any deity in the principal sacred scriptures of his Aryan ancestors. It is much more probable that the term, when used by him, refers to the Hindu sacred scriptures in general, rather than to that special portion, known as the Vedas. Such a conviction, as has just been stated, is strengthened by the fact that in reading the Ramayan of Tulasi one gets the impression again and again from his statements that the Vedas knew all about Rama—his glory and his deityhood. Yet, if Tulasi had really been well-read in the Vedas, he could not have maintained such a position.

With reference to asceticism also Tulasi is a thoroughgoing traditionalist. His work is filled with presuppositions regarding all such; and as to the wonders they are able to accomplish by their sacrificial and ascetic practices and magical powers. Tulasi's interest in the ascetic and the ascetic type of life is manifest on almost every page of his work. His world is an ascetic world. For example, love is one of the three great evils of the world (67). His model person is the ascetic (68). His model king is ascetic in his interests and aspirations (69). Rama and Sita are most beautiful to look upon when they are in the simple garb of the ascetic (70). Nature recognizes Rama as her deity, when he is in the ascetic garb, and hastens to serve him by making the way smooth for his feet as he journeys through the deep jungle. Rama is the model ascetic (71), as well as the deity of ascetics (72). During his years of sojourn in the Dandaka forest he is solicitous about visiting all the hermitages of the holy ascetics (73). Pilgrimages to holy places are accepted by Tulasi as efficacious in purifying all who visit them (74). Throughout the work Tulasi's ascetic leanings are manifest. His closing prayer is one to be relieved from the burden of existence in the world (75).

His world of practices, attitudes and thinking is filled with magical presuppositions. Anything may happen. There is hardly a page of his work that does not reveal how he accepts magical happenings as axiomatic. It may be a Ravana, transforming himself into an ascetic to accomplish the rape of Sita (76), or Rama, by the power of illusion, showing himself to his mother when a boy in two places at once (77), or as the whole Universe and his own deityhood (78). Or again it may be a case of crowds of the lesser gods taking birth as monkeys and bears (79) in order to assist Rama in his struggle against Ravana, the demon king of Lanka.

Intimately connected with things magical are omens, both good and bad. Sita's left side throbbed (80). That is a good omen. But had it been Rama's or any other man's left side, instead of his right, it would have been a bad omen. The wicked Kekaya's right eye kept twitching and each night she had an evil dream (81). These both were considered evil omens.

This list of the presuppositions, which have come down in the social inheritance from ancient times might be greatly extended. Before referring to presuppositions which seem to have come into the social inheritance in post-Vedic times, it may suffice to refer briefly to other ancient presuppositions, such for example, as the sanctity of cows. To kill them is a great sin (82). One of the purposes accomplished by Vishnu's repeated incarnations is to save cows, as well as Brahmans and deities from distress, occasioned by demons and other evil powers (83). The whole demon-world and all the crowd of lesser deities lie in the background of all of Tulasi's thinking and writing. They all seem very real to him. It never seems to occur to him to question the reality of any or all of this ignoble crowd. Again all his attitudes and thinking with reference to the world and the future are saturated with the deeply rooted notions of fate, karma and transmigration (84). Reference has been made already in a previous chapter to these related notions (85). Fate is supreme. We are told by Tulasi (86) that no good can come from fighting against fate. Rama, however, alone among all the deities is able to terminate the round of transmigration for those who are his devotees (87). In Tulasi's statement with reference to the Shudra, already quoted above, he has revealed not only his presuppositions, but also his convictions with reference to caste. In this he differs greatly from Ramananda and Kabir.

Tulasi's general attitude towards woman is another of the presuppositions of his work. Although Tulasi praises Sita and some few other women, yet his general estimate of woman is not very complimentary. A man is undone by putting trust in a woman (88). She is an inveterate deceiver (89). The abyss of her wiles man cannot fathom (90). There is also an allusion to sati (91), when Sita is representing as entering the fire. It would appear that this prac-

tice had been in the Aryan social inheritance from ancient times. It is held by Schrader (92) that this practice obtained among Indo-Germanic peoples : that the wife, in order to provide for the deceased husband's needs in the other life, should die with him. This same circle of ideas is reflected in the ninteenth chapter of the sixth book of Caesar's Gallic Wars (93). Although in the Atharva-Veda (94) it is held to be the time-honored duty of the wife to pass into the fire with the body of her deceased husband, yet both in this work (95) and in the Rig-Veda (96) she is commanded to rise up from the funeral pyre and let her new husband lead her away. Prof. W. D. Whitney (97) gives the following as the translation of the Atharva-Veda passage : "Get up, O woman, to the world of the living ; thou liest by this one who is deceased ; come ! to him who grasps thy hand, thy second spouse, thou hast now entered into the relation of wife to husband." It would appear therefore, that the more ancient practice had given place to the new practice of a second marriage in Vedic times. Later, however, the more ancient practice was revived. Was this due to Brahman influence (98) ? Fraser states that in order to give the custom religious sanction, a passage in the Rig-Veda (99), which directed the widow to rise up from the side of her deceased husband on the funeral pyre and go forward (agre) was changed to read to go into the fire (agneh). This practice was in the Hindu social inheritance when the later portions of Valmiki's Ramayana and those of the Mahabharata were written (100). By the time of Kalidasa it is well known (101). It is given a place in recognized Hindu practice in the Vishnusmriti (102). This practice is condemned in the Tantric Mahanirvana text (103) and praised in the Garuda Purana (104). Hence it would appear that from the fifth century onwards of the Christian century this practice grew apace, especially wherever Brahman influence was powerful. Akbar, without success, tried to stamp out this practice.

Other factors also were doubtless of greater or less influence in creating that social status of woman which we find in the social inheritance of Tulasi's time. For example, the long prevalence and widespread development of the ascetic, as well as the Jain and Buddhist religious movements. Then, the presence of a servile class of women must have been another factor in promoting this downward movement of woman's social position. Later came the Moslem conquest with its deeply rooted Moslem attitude not only towards the women of alien faiths, but even towards their own. Factors, such as these, were contributory in bringing about such presuppositions as Tulasi in general displayed towards woman.

There is still another presupposition to which something more than a passing reference should be made. It is the notion that wrong-doing cannot be attributed to the deities. It is expressed in a very familiar phrase in Hindi : "samarthi ko dosh nahin". The

deities are above morality. They may do as they please and no one should dare either to condemn or to imitate them. They are in a class by themselves. This notion is widely prevalent in India's social inheritance even down to the present-day. Furthermore, there are many references to it in their sacred as well as secular literature. This notion lies in the background of Tulasi's thinking. In speaking of Shiva and other deities, for example, he writes (105): "The fool who in the pride of knowledge dares to copy them (the deities), saying, 'It is the same for a man as for a god', shall be cast into hell for as long as the world lasts". This same thought is voiced in the Bhagavata Purana (106). When one seeks to search out how such a notion could get into a race's social inheritance and become so widespread and deeply rooted, some light at least is shed on the problem by recalling a matter of common observation in matters religious : that authority in the deity-world is thought of in terms of a group's type of political authority. For example, it would not be possible for a national or racial group, long schooled in thinking of political authority in terms of democracy, either to have a deity that is above morality or to listen for a moment to such a statement as Tulasi has made about the deities in relation to morality. It is only where racial and other groups have been accustomed for ages to think of political authority in terms of some type of absolutism, in which the ruler is the state and is above all law. Among such groups such a notion about deities and its corollaries could become current in the social inheritance. The phrases: "the divine right of kings", and "the king can do no wrong", which in the West to-day are largely survivals representing the ideas of other days, belong to the same circle of notions as the one in India that the deities are above morality. In Indra, for example, we get a distinct reflection of the Aryan tribal chieftain of that far-away time. So also the deified Rama and Krishna reflect the type of kings and rulers, which prevailed in general in the groups in which their deification took place. Since therefore, groups make their deities in their own image and in particular in the image and after the manner of life of their rulers, an added observation is obvious : the Rama deity reflects credit upon the type and character of the groups and in particular their rulers when Rama was passing at least through the initial stages of his deification. But it must have been quite otherwise with the groups in which Krishna went through his proceess of exaltation to deityhood. Otherwise, it is difficult to explain the widespread prevalence of the traditional material regarding his amorous dalliances with the milkmaids. To the extent that the serious-minded Indian becomes democratically-minded to that extent problems will arise for him in thinking of such a deity as Krishna. He may rest for a time in the practice of giving an allegorical meaning to all this deity's unseemly conduct. However, if he would continue

serious-minded such a method cannot satisfy him long. Sooner or later his thinking must compel such a deity to come down into the field of upright conduct to which he holds himself amenable. However, Tulasi, so far as we are able to judge, was not troubled with any such problem. He lived and thought in a world of political, social and religious absolutism.

There is yet another phrase, which is used frequently with reference to the deities. Hence, it also leads one to raise a question as to the habits of the ruling classes or rulers in which the deities, about whom this term is used, received their deification. It is the term "lila", which is translated sport. In the Vedanta the deity's activity is represented as sport. Is this phrase a reflection of the life in general lived by the rulers and the ruling classes in which this term came into vogue in describing the activity of the deity in relation to his world task and mankind? Where do people generally, as well as thinkers in particular, get their terminology to make what they wish to say understandable to those for whom it is intended? Is it not out of the social inheritance and the ongoings of the group life about them? As intimately connected with the above in the circle of practice as well as notions, one must mention the Tantric religious development to which added reference will be made presently. Although this development appears to be post-Vedic, as least as far as the Aryan traditional material is concerned, yet, it is such that, when it came into the latter's social inheritance it would be contributory to the same end of exalting the deities above morality. It is difficult to over-estimate the unfortunate results which have followed, both in respect to social practices and also in obscuring the true basis for right conduct, which, if it would be an abiding one, must inhere in the character of the deity.

There is yet another influence that it would seem ought to be considered as a major one in setting the deities above the field of morality. However, it is very doubtful as to whether it exercised as large an influence in this result as those factors already mentioned. These latter were widespread among all classes. Whereas the Brahman-Atman speculation, which is the factor to which reference is now being made, was for the most part the concern of the ascetic groups, who it is true set up the norms which in time became the common property of the masses. This latter process was greatly accelerated with the rise and growth of the Bhakti development with its increased use of the vernacular. This process of religious speculation in making Brahman the qualityless and highest deity lifted him above morality. Then, each sectarian group in the process of exalting its own particular deity made him like Brahman. Hence, such a process of thinking and its attendant terminology would naturally tend to reinforce the prevalent notions regarding the political and social absolutism of the ruling classes. Therefore, in

time practices, attitudes and notions, such as indicated above, would integrate such a presupposition about the absolutism of the deities: such as we find deeply rooted in the social inheritance of Tulasi's day.

Tantric practices and their related thinking and terminology, with its standardized symbolism, is another of the presuppositions, which we find in this work. As already indicated, this development seems to have come into the Aryan stream of culture in post-Vedic times. Tulasi's work carries several references (107) and many scattered allusions (108) to this later development. Although it does not seem to have taken systematic form until well along in the earlier Christian centuries (109), yet the usages and popular notions, connected therewith, are undoubtedly centuries older. Farquhar places three manuscripts of these texts between the seventh and ninth centuries of our era (110), remarking that the works themselves are probably much older. This development is a mingling of magical rites and mysticism (111). Many of the former are not only crude but also obscene, such as are characteristic of primitivity.

The Tantric development has a large literature (112). Until comparatively recent years it has been largely unknown to Western scholars. Aside from Barth, very few of these give any serious attention to this development, which, according to a recent Bengali writer, has given present-day Hinduism two-thirds of its religious rites and fully one-half of its medical formulae and practices. As yet, very little of this literature has been worked. As yet therefore, it is impossible to date the greater part of this literary material, even in its present form. Geden holds, (113) that since the Mahabharata makes no reference to this system of practice and thinking or to its texts, the existing books must, therefore, be of late origin. He refers also to the fact that the word "tantra" is not used by the Chinese pilgrims, nor is it found in the Amarkosha, a Sanskrit dictionary, which work Macdonell, with some hesitation, places in the beginning of the sixth century of our era (114). However, this silence whether of the pilgrims or of the literature, mentioned above, may mean nothing more than that it was later when this type of religious development became standardized in the then orthodox Hinduism. Evidently, as was the case originally with the Bhagavadgita, its popularity compelled in time its recognition by the orthodox circles.

The usages and notions of this development are certainly very old. They bear many marks of primitivity. This development has much in common with the warm emotional worship of the earth-goddess, as Shakti. She comes to be linked up with Shiva as his creative force, who as the qualityless Brahman is inactive. Philosophically she is on the one hand identified with the Vedantic Brahman and on the other with Prakriti of Sankhya's dualistic

system. Hence, it follows that it is through Shakti that the whole creation is evolved.

Then from the standpoint of practice in particular this Tantric development has intimate relations with very much of the Yoga school. It is out of this phase of its development that we get a whole group of mystic signs, which are supposed to possess great and mysterious magical powers, such as the syllable "Om". These notions about phrases, words and even the letters of the alphabet receive great elaboration. In Tulasi's work, especially in the first and last books, very frequent statements and allusions appear which take their significance from this circle of practice and ideas. The name of Rama is so filled with magical power in bringing about all sorts of marvels that it is even greater than Rama himself (115). The letters of Rama's name, even when used backwards (116) accomplish undreamed-of wonders. All such phraseology is saturated with the Tantric atmosphere.

The Tantras, like the Puranas, are sectarian texts. The former exalt themselves at the expense of the earlier sacred scriptures, such as the Vedas, the Shastras and the Puranas. These latter are compared to a common woman, while the Tantras are likened to a high-born woman. As might be expected, the connection between this development and that of bhakti is close. In fact the teaching of the Tantras is based on the bhakti type of salvation. Hence, it is easy to understand how again and again certain phases of the Bhakti development shaded off easily into a more or less definite Tantric development.

Hence, one may pass on naturally to consider the circle of presuppositions, reflected in this work, which are attached to the Rama cult. As one might expect, we find Rama is classed as the Supreme (117). All other deities are subordinate to him (118). Even the great deities, such as Shiva and Brahma, are his devoted worshippers (119). Anything that even belonged to Rama, like his name (120), or his sandals (121) are so potent to work wonders that his devotees use his name (122) to secure salvation or to ward off evils from the demon world. His sandals were carried from the forest, whither he had gone and placed upon the throne-seat in Ayodhya to give magical wisdom and guidance to those who conducted the affairs of the kingdom during Rama's sojourn in the forest. Again and again in some form or other emphasis is given to the thought that neither knowledge, meditation, nor ascetic practice would arm one against the evils of this present wicked age. It is only by devotion to Rama and to his worship that one can become proof against all such troubles (123). He is even called the deliverer of the deities (124). Just as his magical powers are limitless (125), so also are his virtues and the number of his incarnations (126).

Such an exaltation of a special deity, as is here accorded to Rama, with the consequent subordination of all others, even Vishnu (127), and of whom Rama is held to be an incarnation, is one of the distinguishing marks of the religious development, associated with bhakti. Another marked characteristic is the physical emotional condition of the devotee as he bows before his chosen deity. The hairs upon his body stand erect. His eyes become suffused with tears. His voice becomes choked with emotion and his whole body begins to quiver. This is the characteristic effect of bhakti, which is supposed to be wrought upon the worshipping devotee. This characteristic had long since become a standardized mark and token of the Bhakti worship. It will be recalled that one of the early bhakti worshippers (128) bewailed the fact that he lacked the necessary frenzy of emotion upon a certain occasion when he stood before his deity's image. Another prominent feature of this particular religious development is the place given to the guru. Reference has been made to this fact in an earlier chapter (129). In matters religious the guru is an absolute necessity (130). A breach of courtesy regarding him cannot be endured. Anyone who should be so wicked would be cast into the awful abyss of hell to suffer there for a million ages; and in addition would be punished even further by being born again as a brute. An example of proper respect towards one's guru is shown by Rama when he drank the water in which he had bathed his guru's feet (131).

The incarnation circle of ideas is one to which more than a passing notice must be given (132). It is one of the outstanding presuppositions, which came into the Hindu social inheritance and into very much of its traditional material through the Bhakti development. This circle of ideas, which grew apace with that of the Bhakti development, has exercised a profound influence upon Hindu life and thought.

This doctrine in time became so widespread and popular that it has attached itself to schools of religious thinking where it does not naturally or logically belong. For example, in the Vedanta system the human spirit is Brahman. Hence, in it there is no logical place for an incarnation doctrine. Yet, Shankaracharya regarded the Bhagavadgita as part of the scriptures of the Vedantists. Then again, take Kabir: during his life-time he made light of the incarnations of Vishnu. Yet, his followers have made him an incarnation of deity (133). Furthermore, practically everything that has come to be associated with Vishnu, whether animate or inanimate, has had a tendency to become incarnate. Ramanuja, for example, is regarded as an incarnation of Shesha Naga. On the other hand, Vishnu's shell and discus have become incarnate in Dasharathi and Kuresha. In a similar manner some of the other early Vaishnava devotees are thought of as incarnations of such things

as Vishnu's bow, his sword and his necklace (134)! In fact, it would seem that, once this notion was set forth as a doctrine and integrated in the social inheritance, it became attached to a very wide range of objects. Indeed, the imagination seems to have run riot in creating a vast array of incarnations. Following the example of Vishnu, Rama, as already noted (135), has an infinite number of incarnations, attributed to him.

The beginnings out of which this notion and its subsequent emerging doctrine arose are lost in obscurity. There is no mention of this doctrine in the Vedas, some Indian writers to the contrary notwithstanding. It is true, however, that certain Vedic stories were re-cast later and made to serve the purposes of the incarnation doctrine. In fact, this re-working of ancient traditional material with a view to serving some new interest, whether literary or religious, is a common characteristic of India's literature, both sacred and secular. This doctrine is absent also from the early Upanishads and even from the Vedanta Sutras of Badarayana. Even in the original Ramayana, which scholars agree consists of Books II-VI, there is no mention of this doctrine. Jacobi, who has examined this work critically, states that even in this original form there are certain interpolations, which he has noted (136). He places this work of Valmiki as early as the sixth or even eighth century B. C. In a later discussion, Keith (137) puts the date as late as the fourth century, with which Macdonell agrees (138).

This doctrine when it appears in Hindu literature does so very suddenly. How are we to interpret this? Was it unorthodox in its beginnings and had it to fight for its place "in the sun" of Hindu orthodoxy? Whether or not this is true, there at least can be no doubt that such a circle of ideas would be promoted by the hunger of the human heart for a near-by deity with whom needy man might have relations that are immediate and certain. We have seen in an earlier chapter how the growth of the Brahman-Atman speculation and its related philosophical developments had either evacuated completely the notion of deity, or else had removed him beyond the range of accessibility in an actionless, passionless Brahman. It is hard for one to over-estimate the depth and strength of this hunger for a humanlike and near-by deity. The number and extent of the mythical stories of incarnations may be taken as a response to this deep-seated hunger.

Obscure as may be the actual beginnings of this notion, we may be sure at least of this fact, which is fundamental: if there had been no hunger for a near-by and humanlike deity, the fundamental urge for the beginnings and growth of such a notion would have been lacking. However, a deep human need always lays hold of some ready-to-hand mental tool or outward symbol to give body and expression to any such need. What was the ready-to-hand

tool, or, in other words, what was the notion or symbol, which gave this felt need its initial technique? Was it the early prevalent related notion that a god may for a time take the form of a man or an animal? Did it arise through Buddhist influences and teaching which ascribed to their great teachers powers that are divine? Or did it arise from primitive notions, such as those which regard certain human beings and animals as living deities (139)? We may never know whether or not these were the major factors in furnishing the initial technique to such a development. But in any case they doubtless had some share in its beginnings and later growth.

The deity Vishnu is the great nucleating centre around which the doctrine of incarnations has its great development. Although explanations (140) have been offered as to why it should have been Vishnu instead of some other deity, yet it is not clear how this association came about originally. The early association of Vishnu with the two great Epics was a great good fortune in popularizing both the deity himself and the Vaishnava movement. These two epics, therefore, became early and have since remained the chief sacred scriptures of the Vaishnava religious developments. Although these epics were appropriated early for the purpose of exalting Vishnu, it ought to be noted that in the earlier stages of the compilation of the Mahabharata and in Valmiki's Ramayana, Vishnu has not been made the Supreme as yet. He is one among the principal deities and is apparently on an equality with Shiva and Brahma. The heroes of these epics, who are Krishna and Rama, are represented in the older material of these works as partial incarnations of Vishnu. However, in the Bhagavadgita, which, as has been indicated in an earlier chapter (141), is a later strand of the Mahabharata material, Vishnu is no longer merely one of the Hindu deities, or even one of the three greatest, as noted above. On the contrary he is, on the one hand, made identical with the Brahman-Atman of the Upanishadic literature, and on the other with Krishna. Vishnu is here the one without a second and Krishna, who in the earlier stages of the Mahabharata was but a partial incarnation is now the complete incarnation of the Absolute Vishnu. When we compare Valmiki's Ramayana with that of Tulasi's a similar exaltation of Rama is observable.

Jacobi calls attention to the fact (142) that in the case of Rama we have the opportunity to observe "an incarnation in the making". In the oldest parts of Valmiki's work Rama appears as a purely human hero with nothing divine about his character. However, in the first and last books of this work it is quite otherwise with Rama. Hence, between the compilation of the original and later parts Rama became recognized as an incarnation of Vishnu. This remarkable and rapid change in Rama's status Jacobi thinks (143) is due to the already existent and well established worship of

Krishna as an incarnation of Vishnu. Rama, therefore, in his ascent to the status of incarnationhood appropriated something already current in the Hindu social inheritance.

In this incarnation doctrine some scholars see evidence of Christian influences. Jacobi points out that chronological considerations make such a position untenable. For example, the canonical books of the Jains were written prior to the Christian era. Their religious system not only presupposes the existence and popularity of Krishna worship, but, what is more, its "hagiology" has as its model the history of Krishna. Hence, there could have been no Christian influences operating in the beginnings of Krishnaism. Then again, the question has been raised as to whether or not the Bhakti revival, sketched in an earlier chapter and which took its beginnings from the days preceding Ramanuja, was influenced by the Christian movement, which had already existed for several centuries in proximity to the centres where Ramanuja and his predecessors did their work. Still further, were any distinct Christian influences operative in North India in the days of Tulasi? These all are questions that have occasioned a good of discussion. Moreover, a large literature has grown up over the question of Western influence in general and Christian influence in particular, on the one hand by India upon the West and on the other by Christianity on India. It is only the latter phase of the problem in particular that concerns us in this study. However, in presenting the data available as to Christianity's early or later influence upon India, it is necessary to indicate some phases of the intercourse, commercial and otherwise, that existed between India and Western Asia and Mediterranean-Europe during the centuries just preceding and succeeding the opening of the Christian Era. A brief reference has been made to this topic in an earlier chapter (144).

The problem as to what early relationships existed between India and the West has awakened keen debate, and the discussion is still on. There are those, like Seydel (145) in the earlier period and Edmunds (146) more recently, who see Christianity in the position of an extensive borrower from India, especially of Buddhistic elements. On the other hand there are conservatives like Von Hase (147) who, after handling the alleged New Testament parallels with those in the literature of Buddhism, answers in a vigorous negative, as far as the Gospels are concerned. Garbe, however, whose work on the subject (148) is of more recent date, and who is less conservative than Von Hase in his treatment of the materials, admits of at least four parallels between Buddhist and Christian stories in the canonical Gospels. Having made this admission he adds, however as a saving clause, the statement that these borrowings after all do not effect the eternal values of Christianity. These borrowings are concerned only, as he maintains, with peripheral

matters of the Christian faith. After the first century, however, he grants that the situation changed radically in this respect; and that Indian influence is in large evidence in the so-called apocryphal gospels, and in stories of the saints. In reading this work one gets the impression that Garbe is laboring to give time for the integration in the young Christian movement of what he, as well as Harnack, think of as the "essential Christianity" before it becomes contaminated from without. But Judiasm came in to shape up Christianity at its very cradle. Why should it be thought a thing inherently ignoble to find that perhaps elements of Indian religious thought were also in at its birth? Garbe, in his treatment, certainly gives one this impression; and this can only arise either when one has some prejudices to serve, which one can hardly think of in the case of a scholar such as he, or when one has the presupposition that in some way or other Christianity started off with "a divine insert", which by all means must be given time to become integrated in the life of the early church. It is altogether probable that this latter is the presupposition, which causes this German scholar to stumble. Then, if one may venture another criticism regarding an otherwise altogether admirable handling of the material, his treatment and conclusions show plainly that he holds that if the literature bears no evidence of influence, therefore influence did not exist. This is a conclusion which certainly does not follow, unless one should be venturesome enough to equate literature with life.

Moreover, it is improbable that all the literature of that period has come down to us. In any case, even if elements of Buddhist teaching did come in at Christianity's birth, what is there in that fact which should call for apology?

Before turning from Garbe's treatment, which, aside from a couple of conclusions, based upon fictitious data to which Laüfer (149) has called his attention, it ought to be stated that it is by all odds the best and contains a valuable bibliography of literature available down to the date of its publication (150). The latter part of Garbe's work deals with the problem of the probable influence of Christianity upon India. Recently Kennedy (151) has treated especially this latter phase of the problem. He has uncovered not a little new material and makes one aware that a great deal of sifting of data requires to be completed before we can expect to have much of the haziness, still hanging about certain phases of the problem, cleared up. Still more recently Dr. W. E. Clark (152) has shed added light on this period which lies within the first century.

As to the general question of intercourse between India and the West, for the period down to the third century of our era, Rawlinson (153), whose handling of the material in general is perhaps the best down to date, makes plain how extensive and long continued had been the commercial and political intercourse between

India and the West. Even the casual reading of the Periplus makes one aware of the vast commerce which the Mediterranean world maintained with India at that time, especially with its southern kingdoms, in some of whose coast cities Roman colonies existed (154), and in one at least was a temple to Augustus (155). Sewell (156) refers to the vast number of Roman coins that have been found in South India. These series, however, are not continuous. They have definite breaks (157) and these correspond with definite periods of political and other disturbances in the Roman Empire. Moreover, the translation of another Greek work, which has been done by Schoff (158) shows that channels of trade and other intercourse were not limited to the sea-routes. There was a Parthian trade-route between the Mediterranean world and the East. This was kept open even when that state was at war with Rome. This route was but one of several, which passed from some one or other of the ports on the Mediterranean or Black Sea to the East in Persia, Bactria, and China. In fact Bactria was the human dumping ground for the Persian and other early Empires. This statement is verified by the material presented in Clark's article, referred to above. Some of these trade-routes were very old (159). It may be stated as a fact that from the fifth century B. C. downwards into the Christian era intercourse continued between Persia and India. In some of the finds of the Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania which belong to the fifth century B. C., traces of Indian influence are said to be observable. McCrindle (160) has collected in his works the references and materials of classical Greek and Roman authors, Christian, Gnostic, and Neo-Platonic, who make reference to matters Indian. Some of the information, which they present, has been gleaned from those who accompanied Alexander the Great; some from the writings of Megasthenes and other Seleucid and Ptolmaic ambassadors at the Indian Court of the Maurya emperors; and some from still other sources. The inscriptions of Asoka also bear witness to this intercourse at that time. For example, drugs are sent from India to Seleucus. From the Arthashastra it is learned that in India at that time drugs were under government control. This would imply that in the treatment of disease the practice of drugs had reached some degree of specialization perhaps even greater than was true in the West at that time. These inscriptions, which contain also the names of Western countries to which Buddhist missionaries were sent, show at least some awareness of countries as far west as Epirus (161). Petrie (162) in a recent work raises the question as to the probability of the rise of asceticism in Egypt, just about the time of the Christian era's beginnings, being influenced by Indian religious practices. Moreover Dr. Clark states that it is certain that Indians lived in Alexandria in the first century of our era. The reference in the writings of the Alexandrian Christian fathers to matters Indian

presupposes some awareness concerning Indian religious thought and practices.

Edmunds has tried to make out a case (163) for large intercourse in Bactria, Sogdiana, and eastward during the early Christian centuries between the Buddhists and Christians; and claims also that a large literature existed in some of these vernaculars. While it seems to be true that Buddhist missionaries were in Bactria as early as the first century B. C., yet a recent article in the T'oung Pao (164) discredits his claims with reference to the Christians; and goes on to show that as yet there is no evidence for their presence in the north-east from Herat until the seventh century. There are some in the latter place, however, by the fifth century, if not earlier. Although there are still problems connected with the exact date of Kanishka, yet his coinage, which was bilingual, makes it plain, according to Kennedy (165), that it was not struck for local purposes but rather for foreign trade. Foreign traders with this coinage used Greek as their "lingua franca." This writer rightly observes also that such a coinage must have meant a sudden and great revolution in trade. Kennedy states also (166) that Yavanas were to be found all over North West Provinces as far as Mathura and the Jumna.

From data such as the above, which could be multiplied, it is evident that both preceding and also during the early Christian centuries an extensive and well-established intercourse existed between India and the West. However, it does not necessarily follow therefrom that there must, therefore, have been a commerce also in the higher things of both the East and the West. Sailors and traders generally are not very good either as transmitters of higher elements of culture, or as interpreters of the culture of alien peoples. Both Strabo (167) and McCrindle (168) furnish evidence corroborating such a statement. In fact, one has but to read the chapter on "Misunderstandings" in Pratt's recent work (169) to learn how even to-day English traders and civilians may live in India for years, and even have large intercourse with the people and yet seriously misunderstand Indian religious culture.

Hence, it is obvious that other factors than those already indicated, need to become operative in order to make the passage of culture from one group to another probable. Such added factors as are needed to effect such a transmission are psychological and sociological. That is, the question is largely one of attitudes. Was the general attitude of the West towards the East such as would promote the integration of the Indian culture in the Mediterranean world of the early Christian centuries ? It is safe to state as a general truth that conditions were favourable. India had become a fabled land both of wealth and culture. Alexander's campaign had tended to increase this estimate. The growth of the Empire brought in economic, moral, and religious chaos to multitudes of the people. The drift towards the cities brought in grave social changes. There

was a daily mingling of classes and races within this vast imperialism. This admixture was not confined to the cities but extended even to the rural districts and islands (170). Such changes and adjustments could not but modify and break up the old attitudes, even where the attitudes might be hostile to the new social situations. Moreover, to this is to be added the fact that the Oriental cults which spread so rapidly over the Western world of this time were highly syncretistic (171) and were better calculated to meet the needs of the new social situation than were the old national faiths. Their ability to meet these needs better would tend to promote a favourable attitude towards everything Eastern. There is little doubt but what by means, such as these, a favourable attitude was created among the peoples of the Mediterranean world generally, which qualified them to take over elements of India's religious thought and practices.

But how stands the case for Christianity exerting an influence upon India's religious life and thought? Here there is much mist and uncertainty hanging over the whole problem. One is compelled therefore, to tread the whole field with a great degree of hesitancy. Practically all that one states must be in terms of probabilities. The problem as it relates itself to our special task divides itself into three periods: namely, the period in the early Christian centuries, the period of Ramanuja in South India, and lastly the period which marked the incoming of the Portuguese and the early English travellers and their settlements. These will be considered in the above order.

In the period of the early Christian centuries there is nothing but mere tradition to guide one until the sixth century is reached. Cosmas of Alexandria, who was surnamed Indicopleustes, lived in this century. He was both a merchant and a traveller. Subsequently he became a monk and wrote a book called Topographia Christiana (172). He makes mention of the presence of Christians in India and Ceylon.

Previous to this we have nothing but traditions, such as the visit of Pantaenus, of the Christian school at Alexandria (173), whom it is said laboured in India as a Christian missionary. But as for the truth of this nothing as yet has come to light to verify this tradition. Then, there is the connection of St. Thomas with India. This tradition as it stands is filled with mystery and confusion. There are those like Dahlmann (174), who give large credence to the tradition. Others, however, (175) regard it as pure myth. The perplexity regarding the whole tradition is increased by the fact that St. Thomas is connected up with three different situations. First it is with Gondophernes, who is undoubtedly an historical character (176), that he is linked. Then, his relations are with a certain Mazdai, concerning whom there is a great deal of uncertainty. Then lastly, his name is connected with the Christians of South

India, whose presence there, Smith thinks (177), goes back to the early Christian centuries. This same writer presents evidence which he thinks goes to prove the existence of the Christian church on the Malabar coast as early as the fourth and perhaps even the third Christian century (178). In any case, there are representatives of the Christian faith in considerable numbers in South India in the early centuries of our era. What did their presence there mean in respect to the infiltration of Christian habits and attitudes into the indigenous religious life of India? The answer to this question will depend largely upon the attitude which the Indians in general took up towards these alien peoples with their alien faith. This attitude would be determined for the most part by the prestige with which the Christians entered into contacts with the indigenous peoples during the initial stages of their life there, and also by the unmet religious needs of the Indian peoples, who came into contact with these early Christians. This attitude would also depend in part upon the leadership and general initiative of the Christian group, and these qualities, it is reasonable to hold, must have been above the general average, if we are to see the nucleus of these early Christians in South India as refugees, who had the courage and initiative to flee from the persecutions in Persia rather than deny their faith. Moreover, there is evidence (179) that about this time and later there was more or less religious instability, caused by the struggle between a decadent Buddhism and a growing Jainism in the South. All such social situations tend to promote the infiltration of hitherto alien habits, attitudes, and notions. However, all such statements as the above are purely general and do not go to prove that infiltration actually took place from Christianity to Indian religious thought and life.

There is still another item which, it is claimed, has some relation to this period and to the subject under consideration. It is the reference to "Shvetadwipa" in the twelfth book of the Mahabharata (180). Garbe and others (181) are inclined to see in this some evidence of early Christian influence in India. The composition of this great epic, it is generally held, covers the period between about 400 B. C. and 400 A. D. This twelfth book is held to belong in the later period of the era of composition. Garbe builds on this a theory of Indian contacts with Christians, settled in the neighborhood of Lake Balkhash in the early centuries of our era. The data from Pelliot's investigations (182), as well as Laüfer's article (183) go to discredit this theory and reduce it to a pure fiction. This is also the case with Garbe's related theory about the influence of a seventh century, Nestorian, mid-north India mission upon the Krishna cult (184), which Laüfer also explodes.

Other evidence (185) is also presented to exhibit the influence of Christianity during this early period, but it is all of such a hazy and indefinite character that for the present at least one must take

up the attitude of suspended judgment until the material is much more thoroughly sifted and critically examined.

Then again, when one turns to the Ramanuja period, the difficulties here are almost as great as in the previous one, as may be gleaned from a perusal of Grierson's references to this time (186). Was the great impetus given to the Bhakti development in this period in South India due to Christian influences, or was it rather due to indigenous factors, such as the persecution of the Vaishnavas by certain South India rulers of that time, who became devotees of Shiva (187) ? Here also are many vexing problems, which for the present demand also an attitude of suspended judgment.

Even when one turns finally to the last period, which is connected with the times of Tulasi the best that one can deal in is probabilities. Just about a generation previous to Tulasi's date of birth the Portuguese had established colonies on the west coast of India in the neighborhood of Calicut and further north in a later period. The relations with the near-by king of Calicut were friendly at first (188). Later, however, trouble arose and we are told that these newcomers made little progress, either in the establishment of trade, or in the promotion of amicable relations with the Indians. The growing violence and oppressive measures of the later Portuguese officials were all calculated to erect and deepen a settled attitude of hostility towards these violent Westerners. The Chronicle of Fernao Nuniz, which is supposed to have been written about 1535 A. D., records struggles between the Portuguese and some of the Hindu and Mohammedan kingdoms of western and southern India (189). The great Vijayanagar empire, to which reference has been made earlier, was the bulwark of Hinduism against Mohammedan power during this period. It had large trade-relations with the important Portuguese colony at Goa. For upwards of two centuries this empire was a refuge for the stricken Hindu, and a great centre for Hindu religious culture. Its commerce was so extensive and considered of such great importance to the Portuguese that practically all the struggles which the latter carried out on the western coast were motivated by the desire to secure the former's maritime trade (190). When it fell the prosperity of Goa passed away. Akbar in his day had relations with this Portuguese centre. Both in 1579 and 1590 he sent thither for teachers of the Christian faith. Then again four years later he renewed his requests for teachers and this time they were sent (191). It is a problem, which Smith raises as to how much in earnest Akbar was in his desire to learn about Christianity (192). About this same time English travellers began to arrive in India (193) and settlements began to be formed. However, this was not until after Tulasi had begun his work.

From the above it is plain that there were possibilities for the indirect influence of Christian culture upon that of the Hindu.

Yet it does not follow therefore that such influences were exercised at this period. In fact, there is a probability against any influence of a direct nature coming in from the contacts of the Portuguese with Indians, because the conduct of these Westerners was such as to create in the Indians generally an attitude of defense and hostility. Consequently, whatever influence may have filtered in from Christianity would be accomplished through the defense-technique which the Indians would build up in relation to the new social situation which the presence of the Westerners had caused to emerge. This is that kind of an influence, which gets registered first in habits and attitudes, rather than in literature, and hence is very hard to appraise.

In the light of the above, it is more probable that such influences as Christianity did exercise upon Indian religious thought and culture up to the time of Tulasi were indirect rather than direct. It was too early for Christianity to come into India with an initial and established prestige as would create in the Indian generally an attitude such as would result in his taking over direct elements of this new faith. Consequently, whatever elements he would take over would be such as were involved in the developing of new habits and attitudes in relation to the new situation to which the presence of the Portuguese had compelled him to adjust himself. But when such a process eventuates in habits and attitudes, integrated in an individual, or in a group's life it is no longer alien. There is no doubt in the writer's mind that in this manner Christianity exercised influences upon India's life and thought. In this respect, therefore, we may state that Christianity was an element in shaping up the social situation out of which Tulasi's Ramayana came. But to say that Indian religious life and thought took over consciously and directly elements of Christianity is quite a different matter. Concerning this we shall require a good deal more light, notwithstanding many views to the contrary, before one will be able to come to a matured judgment on this matter.

Consequently, one is more inclined to see in great popular movements in religion, such as the Bhakti development in India, an indigenous movement, which emerges out of a changed social situation, to which the former seeks to minister. Alien religious influences, it is true, may have something to do in creating this new social situation, but they come in as indirect rather than direct factors. As indirect factors they are hard to tabulate and appraise, even though one may be aware that they are there beneath the surface, and operating unconsciously in the group as a part of the great social complex. It is in some such way as this that the writer thinks of such influence as Christianity may have exercised upon India, or more specifically upon Tulasi and his times.

After this long digression in order to deal with the conviction, held by some, that the incarnation doctrine which is a part of the

Bhakti development betrays traces of Christian thinking, one must turn now to conclude the discussion of the major presuppositions, reflected in the Ramayan of Tulasi.

The above list of presuppositions, although an extended one, exhausts by no means the many that lie reflected in the pages of this Ramayan. However, sufficient reference to those that are the major ones has been made perhaps to enable one by the use of the imagination to sense something of the social inheritance in which Tulasi lived; and to get also something of the background of this poet's mind and to see the world which he looked out upon.

We turn now to a discussion of the sources of Tulasi's work. However, a thorough discussion of these sources is practically impossible. As yet one does not have the data with which to carry it on. In the first place one does not know as yet how many of the modifications, existing between the Rama material in Valmiki's work and that of Tulasi's, are due to those through whom the story came to Tulasi, or to those which the later poet made himself, or again to those who have made additions since Tulasi's day. Then again, one is unable to determine just what changes may have come in unconsciously as a result of changes in the social situation and religious outlook. For example, Valmiki's Ramayana has reference to Rama at Prayag hunting game and eating its flesh. Whereas in Tulasi's work there is no such reference in this connection. What has happened to bring in this change? These are some of the important considerations which Tessitori's otherwise interesting comparison between Valmiki and Tulasi's Ramayan seems to have overlooked (194). In reading his article one gets the impression that he is making the comparison upon the presupposition: that whatever changes are found in the later work, Tulasi is the author of them: a presupposition which it would be exceedingly difficult to say the least for him to prove. He writes as though Tulasi sat down, and with the various recensions (195) of the older work before him culled now from one and now from the other as suited best the purpose he had in mind. Grierson, however, has called his attention to the fact: that it is highly improbable that Tulasi proceeded in this manner (196). The former scholar has recognized since the cogency of the other's criticism on this point (197). The only difficulty with Sir George's criticism, however, is that it does not go far enough. It is not only a matter of the improbability of Tulasi proceeding as Tessitori took for granted originally; but the presupposition also that whatever changes exist between these two Ramayans are the result of Tulasi's hand. This idea itself is to be called in question. Until we have sufficient knowledge such as will enable one to control the development between these two works such a presupposition is not only unwarranted, but a comparison carried on upon such a basis is hardly worth the labour involved.

In view of the above considerations, therefore, all that can be reasonably expected is to take the Tulasi production as it now stands and indicate in so far as it may be possible, in view both of the above serious present limitations and in view also of the purposes of this study, the major sources of this work. This is what will be attempted with the materials now at hand (198). Furthermore, the nature of the task attempted in this study is such that, even if one could trace out all the stages in the process as intimated above, yet in all probability it would not alter materially the general conclusion as to just what the way of salvation is, which is presented in this work. It would of course help to answer many an interesting and teasing problem. Moreover, it might result in enhancing our estimate of the creative part Tulasi played in handling his materials. Then again, it might yield an opposite result in revealing him as a mere transmitter of what had been handed on to him. But in any event it would not alter our main conclusion as to the paramount way of salvation, which stands revealed in this work as we now have it.

Hence, our expression: "Tulasi's Ramayan," is not to be taken as indicating the identical Ramayan which this writer himself wrote or created from the sources he had at his disposal, but rather the process which has intervened between the floating or written materials which have come to be thought of as Valmiki's Ramayana in the various recensions, and that work which has eventuated in what we now know as Tulasi's Ramayan. While a much more closely delimited way of thinking of Tulasi's work is greatly to be desired, yet it is difficult to see how, at the present stage of investigating the literary sources of this work and a criticism of the same, anything more definite can be attempted.

The consideration of the sources will be attempted under two heads: first, the literary sources, and second, other sources, such as are in the social inheritance. These latter are those which have been considered already under the head of presuppositions. These, as stated, are taken over uncritically by the writer because their presence in the social inheritance make them axiomatic to him. In other words, they had for the most part become built into the structure of his habits and attitudes before reflection had really arisen in him. Furthermore, one is not likely to become aware of the presence of presuppositions until, either they become set over against habits and attitudes, such as have no place for these presuppositions, or in cases where a changed social situation creates a maladjustment. Then, all such presuppositions, creating maladjustment, get into the focus of attention. Therefore they become objectified and criticized. Thereby they become more or less modified and retired from the realm of presuppositions. Or in other words they become a problem, rather than something to be taken for granted.

As to the literary sources of Tulasi's work a cursory perusal is sufficient to convince one that the materials as we find them in Valmiki's work, are its major source; and to this fact Tulasi himself bears witness (199). However, it is by no means to be thought of as a mere remodelling of this earlier work (200). Tessitori, in his treatment, labors to determine from just which one of the Valmiki recensions Tulasi gathered his materials. He finds him drawing now from one recension and now from another and, on the basis of this kind of an approach, he seeks to reach conclusions as to what changes Tulasi really made, and also as to what were the possible motives which actuated this writer in the process of selection which he carried on in handling his materials. All this treatment and point of approach grow out of his presupposition, which as yet remains to be proven: namely, that the difference in material and in treatment which marks Tulasi's work off from that of the older writer is the result of the former's own creative activity. Moreover, does not this presupposition in part at least grow out of a failure to recognize the character of the social situation, both in Tulasi's day and in that of earlier time ? In other words, is not Tessitori, as Grierson has intimated in his criticism, referred to earlier (201), drawing his conclusions on the basis of Western-world social situations, rather than upon those of India ? Is it not much more probable that Tulasi came into the possession of the Valmiki-material in some such way as Jacobi, (202) has so admirably pointed out: namely, by the more or less fluid transmission of the Rama-legend cycles by wandering bards and singers, who took large liberties with their material as might be determined by the concrete social situations in which they found themselves. Even so late a work as the Harivamsa (203) calls this material by the name of "ancient ballads". Moreover, we have no reason to conclude that, even after Valmiki may have put these cycles of ballads into the more definite shape in which we afterwards find them (204), the wandering bards ceased using their repertoire. Economic as well as language considerations would tend strongly to perpetuate this practice (205). How do we know but what Tulasi's "elsewhere" (206) sources may have included elements of this popular stream of the Rama-legend, rather than that which became more or less fixed in the Sanskrit recensions which profess to go back to Valmiki ? Furthermore, can we be actually certain that he had an actual written copy of the Valmiki Ramayana at hand when he undertook his work ? Or was it rather the Valmiki Ramayana which he learned by rote in his youth from the lips of his foster-father ? The latter is much more probable and is in keeping with the practice of guru and disciple-relations as they exist still in India, in spite of the multiplication of many books.

Then again is this work of Tulasi the deliberate sitting down and writing out of the praises and the story of his hero-deity, or

was it a process that went on through a period of years as this devotee of Rama went from place to place telling the story and the glory of the compassionate one? Tradition has it that while he was born in 1532, yet he did not begin to put his work into shape until 1574. These and many other considerations, such as the above, seem to stand preliminary to the handling of the Tulasi material in any adequate manner.

With respect to the major sources: namely, the material which belongs with the Valmiki and related elements, Tessitori has made an interesting comparative study of the different way in which the same material is handled in these two pieces of literature. He refers to the fact that while the events and even their order are to be found in Tulasi substantially (207) as they are in the earlier work, yet the material is handled in a different manner and with an enveloping atmosphere that is markedly altered. There is on the one hand an elaboration given to some of the events while others are treated with a mere passing allusion, or with a brief phrase or two (208). Then, it is also true as this scholar points out: the material in Valmiki is presented much more objectively than that which is found in Tulasi's work. Moreover, this is just what we would expect in view of the latter's relation to Rama. Since the latter presented a picture of Rama as the Supreme (209), who "for the love that he bears to his faithful people" became incarnate "and does many things", we would expect that the human phases of his character and conduct would become more and more retired into the background. This is exactly what has happened. When, for reasons which are not always clear to the reader, reference is made to some human element in his character "it is softened and explained as being mere illusions brought about by the Lord's maya" (210).

There is still another marked difference which this Italian scholar has pointed out, namely: the style and the character of illustrations, which are used in the later work (211). Tessitori sees this as the result of deliberate choice on Tulasi's part. Here again one hesitates to follow such a judgment until we are in a position to determine more accurately just what was the condition of the Rama material as to style and illustration when it came into the hands of Tulasi. One can believe that a writer with the ability as displayed in his other literary productions must certainly have added his creative touch to literary material, which set forth the glorious adventures and the character of his chosen deity. But just how high that creativeness registered is the problem, which one could wish that he might be as sure of as is Tessitori (212).

Therefore, while it is true that much critical investigation of the literary materials remains to be carried on in connection with this whole Ramayan literature before a matured judgment can be given on many problems, involved therein, yet this much may be

stated with certainty that in the Tulasi Ramayan the traditional material is handled, whether by his predecessors or those subsequent to him, in a very different manner and style from that which characterizes the older work. In other words this traditional material has come into the focus of attention in a cult of Rama. It has come to form a religious technique whereby a certain type of salvation is to be effected in those who are adherents of this cult. Consequently all the material that is in anyway connected with Rama's character and conduct becomes increasingly idealized and elaborated in order that it may comport adequately with deity.

The interpretation of the Rama material in Tulasi's work shows that it has more in common with the Adhyatma Ramayana than with that of Valmiki. For example, in Valmiki's work Agastya worships Rama as king, but in the Adhyatma Ramayana and in Tulasi's work he is worshipped as the Incarnate (213). The Adhyatma is a comparatively modern work. It represents a rehandling of the Rama legend with a view to removing certain difficulties in the old material where Rama acts and speaks as does a human. It evidently served as the Scriptures for a group or groups, who worshipped Rama alone as the Supreme. Was it the Ramaite group to which Ramananda belonged (214)? As is so often the case with a sectarian effort, this work claims to be the original Ramayana (215). However, when it was written, which was probably in the thirteenth or fourteenth century A. D., there were several Ramayanas already in existence (216). A portion of this work is called the Ramagita (217), which is a summary of doctrine to be memorized for purposes of worship. Similar to Tulasi's work it bears distinct evidence of Sankhya thought and outlook (218). Tantric elements are strongly in evidence. For example, Sita is the "mother of the world". Everything that is done is by Sita, who is Maya (219). Maya is also called Shakti. Another portion of this work is called the Ramahridaya, which professes to be a compendium of all the Vedanta (220). Hence, as might be anticipated, this work is full of advaita presuppositions and teachings. It is the illusory Sita, who is abducted by the demon king, Ravana. The real Sita passes into the fire before he arrives upon the scene; and she does not return until the end of the story (221). Throughout this work Rama is represented as assuming merely the habits and ignorance of the human. In reality he knows all and is the Supreme. In this respect the Adhyatma is like the Yoga-Vashishtha-Ramayana, a diffuse work of some 32,000 stanzas, which it is held belongs also sometime in the thirteenth or fourteenth century A. D. Its language and treatment have not a little in common with Tulasi's. However, on the other hand it differs from both Tulasi and the Adhyatma in that it uses the Rama material as a dramatic setting to teach Vedantic doctrine.

There were other works that had more or less to do in shaping up the social inheritance and traditional material out of which Tulasi's work took shape. The Bhagavata Purana, for example, was such a work. Reference has been made to it in earlier chapters (222). Farquhar sees traces of its influence in the Adhyatma (223). Vopadeva, who was a noted scholar living in the Maratha country about the close of the thirteenth century, wrote several works dealing with this Purana. Vallabha, whose dates are 1479-1531 A. D., also wrote a commentary on this famous work, which is called Subodhini. Farquhar holds (224) it is clear that this Purana had not only been written by 1030 A. D., but also that it had gained early such wide acceptance as to place it as the fifth of the Puranas.

In concluding this rather lengthy chapter, which, because of the paucity of accurate historical data, deals very inadequately with an important problem, one is impressed with the array of outstanding presupposition, reflected in this work. It is evident that Tulasi was well at home with the times in which he lived. Practically all the important presuppositions of the Hindu world of his day, as well as of the present, stand reflected in his Ramayan. This, along with the homely Hindi of the masses, which he used with such skill, has had undoubtedly much to do in giving this work such a wide and continued popularity.

This also is evident: Tulasi in very many respects was quite a thoroughgoing traditionalist. His reforming zeal did not cover as wide a range of interests as did that of Kabir. However, it is to his credit that he did have a sufficiently high type of moral courage as enabled him to pursue a course which was counter to many of the practices and much of the thinking of his day. Here, however, one's statement must needs be qualified somewhat by the fact that it is not possible to determine definitely just how much of the new interpretation of the Rama material is due to Tulasi and how much to those who handled this material previous to his day and subsequent to the time of Valmiki's work. Much long and patient sifting of the literary materials must be completed before one can venture a matured judgment here.

Furthermore, whatever re-handling of the Rama material as may have been done by Tulasi cannot be classed as critical in any sense of the word. He was concerned primarily, and one might say even exclusively, with singing the praises of his chosen deity. In order to accomplish this in a manner, which to him seemed most effective, he stood ready to place under tribute and modify such literary material as came to hand and could be made serviceable for the purpose he had in mind. It was in this spirit undoubtedly that he used his sources.

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(123). Lankakand, Chaupai of Doha 34.
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(128). p. 109.
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(152). W. E. Clark, The Importance of Hellenism from the Point of View of Indic Philology.
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(174). Dahlmann, Die Thomas-Legende und die ältesten historischen Beziehungen des Christentums zum fernen Osten im Lichte indischen Altertumskunde.

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(179). ,, ,, pp. 440—1, 454, 465—469, 476.

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(208). ,, ,, ,, ,, 276 f.

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(216). ,, ,, Ayodhya Kanda, IV: 77.

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(220). ,, ,, Bala Kanda, I: 54.

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CHAPTER VIII

TULASI'S WAY OF SALVATION

It is the purpose of this chapter to delineate the technique and the content of this Tulasi "way". It will include also an effort to indicate as clearly as may be possible the needs which this "way" sought to meet. However, before this can be done it becomes necessary to make some reference to the total social situation, which lies revealed in this ancient legend. It served as the literary structure for the portrayal of this "way of salvation".

The world which unfolds itself in the Rama legend, is for the most part a world of primitivity. That is: it is a world crowded with wonders, portents, and mystery. Moreover, it depicts an age (1), which in Tulasi's day was long since past. The age in which Rama lived his life on earth, which this literature depicts, was the second of the great ages of Hindu thought, in which, as is held by orthodox Hindus, there was a great devotion to truth. While it is held that there was some admixture of passion and evil, yet on the whole happiness was general. The world then was one that was inhabited not merely by rulers, common people, and Brahmans, many of whom were great ascetics, and as such possessed marvellous magical and delusive (2) powers. But it was crowded also with gods and demons, alike in this, that both were in all stages of development or of decay. The gods, especially the great ones, had their abodes in the north (3), on some of the fabled peaks of the Himalayas, such as Meru (4), Kailash, Mandara, or in other secluded spots on the earth. The demons dwelt in places, such as fearsome jungles (5), in the underworld, or, as in the case of Ravana and his hosts, in the island of Lanka (6). These all by means of the power of Maya (7) or magic (8) were likely at any time to appear among the abodes of men in the guise of some human or of an animal. The purpose, prompting this disguise, was generally a selfish one (9). However, it was not always true of all (10). On the whole these gods, even the so-called great ones (11), were a mean-spirited crew (12). They were limited in knowledge (13), were stupid (14), and envious (15), and could not endure the prosperity of others (16). They were helpless in the presence of the great demon king, Ravana (17), and had fled for refuge into the dens and caves of the high mountains. Hence, their power was limited. This was true of even the greatest of them. Everyone of them was subject to the power of Maya, fate and transmigration. In fact, it stands forth as an age in which, for the above reasons, the gods were seriously discounted. While it is true that men still feared them, yet they did not fear them so greatly as they did the curse of the Brahman (18), to which even the gods themselves were subject.

The lesser gods were a great unnamed multitude, whose chief duties seem to have been quite menial. They figure mostly as a gaping, stupid, and inquisitive crowd of onlookers upon great scenes of human interest (19); and at the fitting moment they shower down heavenly flowers upon the fortunate of earth (20), and beat the heavenly kettle-drums. When Rama, as an incarnation of the half of the essence of Vishnu (21), was about to be born, great numbers of these unnamed gods, at the command of Brahma, were born upon earth as monkeys and bears (22) in order that they might be ready to assist the son of Dasaratha in his struggle against Ravana.

Ravana and his demon hosts had filled the earth as well as the god-world with great distress by the constant interruptions which they had wrought in the performance of the ritual of sacrifice (23), by means of which the gods subsisted, and also by the devastation they had wrought among the Brahmans and the cows (24). This demon king by the potency of rigorous ascetic practices had exacted a boon from Brahma and had thereby been able to become a world-conqueror. This success of his had emboldened him to resolve even to destroy both religion and the gods (25). What was to be done in such a distressful situation ? The gods all came flocking to Brahma to ask this very question (26).

It is upon a background filled with anxiety and helplessness, such as this is, that Tulasi introduced the hero-god, Rama, who plays his part so adequately and with such consummate skill throughout that it results in great rejoicing alike among gods and men. It is to Rama that all look for succour; and he does not disappoint them. He is equal to every emergency; and no matter how great may be the task confronting him he performs it with such ease as gives the impression that he has still vast untouched reserves of power and wisdom. All the other gods are compelled to dance to the tune set by Maya, but on the other hand even the movement of Rama's eyebrows are adequate to set Maya herself dancing to his bidding (27). He is such a deity as stands high above all others, inspiring confidence at all times; and one also to whom one is likely to turn in times of deep distress. Such is the impression that is created by this majestic figure which comes upon the world-stage in a great crisis when evil and the demons had become triumphant; and when among the religious devotees and the gods also all hope was gone. Even when he does become incarnate in the family of the king, Dasaratha, under all the favourable omens possible, and even though all his pathway through his early as well as his later career upon earth is also marked by good omens, yet the gods are by no means certain that he will be able to prevail against the demons and rid the world of their curse. Consequently, upon almost every occasion when he comes into conflict with them the gods look on

with not a little perturbation as to what the outcome might be (28). This all is calculated to give the impression on the one hand of the impotency of the other gods and on the other of the resourcefulness and limitless ability of Rama.

Moreover, by way of contrast with such gods his character is one that is in keeping with the best ideals and elements of the social situation. In the midst of the human associations of his time he lived his life. As such, his character is an altogether lovely one when set over by way of contrast with the other idle, gossipy, and chattering gods, who dwelt apart from men. These came among men only to accomplish some envious, vengeful, or lustful purpose in which man was generally the sufferer.

Rama, on the other hand, was integrated into the social situation of his time. Although his conception was miraculous in character, yet he was born as other humans. Aside from occasional displays of his Maya power his childhood was that of a normal child. With some few exceptions, when he wrought wonders, his youth also was a normal one. He showed the customary honour to his spiritual guide, to Brahmans, and to his parents. In his marriage also he integrated his life in the customary practices of the life of his time. His departure into an ascetic's life was also in keeping with practices in the social situation of his time, even though it may not have been so customary for kings' sons to follow such a life. His particular departure was the result of a palace intrigue in the female apartments, which is still an event of frequent occurrence in polygamous households. Moreover, ascetics were not infrequently accompanied by their wives. In their life in the forest we have a picture of the usual ascetic routine with its rites and its garb. There are also the visits to holy places, such as the Ganges and noted hermitages, where all their actions are in keeping with the generally recognized practices of the ascetic life. Even though Rama is set forth again and again as the Supreme, yet he not only pays reverence to the great ascetic saints, whom he meets in his wanderings, just as would be expected of ordinary ascetics, but when he reaches the shore opposite Lanka he even sets up an image of Shiva and worships this god, just as any ordinary religious man might do (29). While it is true that his deity-powers broke in upon his ordinary life from time to time, especially during those times in which he fought with the demons and their king, Ravana, yet his conduct in general was such as tended to make him intimate and real in the total situation of his time. When he talked, it was in the language of the people. His talk was full of allusions, homely phrases, wise sayings, and philosophical distinctions, such as were common elements in that time's social inheritance.

However, this integration of Rama in the human world of his time was not without its problems. For example, the simplicity of

the childhood of Rama led Bhusundi, the crow, who later became a most noted devotee of Rama, to doubt his deityhood until he was given a vision of his greatness. This was accomplished when the child Rama by the power of Maya permitted the crow to enter his mouth and view all the vast universe within (30). Parvati also had doubts because of Rama's humanity (31). These also were dissipated by the latter's Maya power. In various other cases the humanlike frailities of Rama are set forth by Tulasi as accommodations in view of the part his hero-god was playing. Then again anything that might reflect upon his deityhood is either softened down (32), or eliminated (33), such as the account of his ascent to heaven, which is given in Valmiki's Ramayana (34) in the Uttarakanda. Since it is generally recognized that this is an appendix to the real epic (35) we do not know as yet whether or not Tulasi's work represents another line of oral or literary tradition, which lacked the elements of the Uttarakanda. On the other hand it might represent a more or less unconscious heightening of his character and status in which Tulasi, along with others, played a part. In any case it is a natural psychological process when once a character, such as Rama, becomes the object of reverent attention.

Subsequent to Rama's victory over the demon king of Lanka he, with his intimates and his monkey friends and allies, mounts the wonder-car, Pushpaka (36), and, flying through the sky, returns to Ayodhya. Here he enters upon his reign and again this land becomes a replica of heaven as it was in the days of his boyhood (37). In fact it is heaven itself because Rama is there (38). Here he continues to rule. In the last section of Tulasi's work, especially, Rama is merged more and more into the cosmic construct of Brahman. It is plain to be seen, however, that we have here two diametrically opposite notions struggling for the ascendancy. The one presents Rama as the intimate and humanlike god, full of all gracious qualities and loving attitudes towards his devotees. However, his goodness does not end with them. He is gracious even to the demons, whom he is compelled to kill. He grants them a place in his heaven (39). Even the mention of his name, or contact with his magically-charged weapons of war are potent to secure for all such a place of bliss in the heaven of Rama. Then on the other hand we have Rama the cosmic construct, devoid of all qualities, passionless, and remote, after the manner of Brahman, who has long been thought of by the philosophically minded as the sole reality in the midst of a world of illusion. It is this latter emphasis that seems to be well on the way toward an ascendancy in this last book of Tulasi's work.

Hence, it would seem incongruous to speak of such a Rama as dying and passing into heaven, even if it should be set forth in the euphemistic terms such as characterize the statement in the Uttara-

kanda of Valmiki's work. It would be interesting to know just how much of this creation of Rama as a cosmic construct belongs to the work of hands other than Tulasi's. However, before this can be done we shall be compelled to await the critical handling of all the Ramayana and other related materials. There can be no doubt that when once this rationalizing process with reference to Rama got under way it would develop rapidly. The movements towards such a thought-development were already present both in literary materials as well as in the floating social inheritance. This we have already noted in an earlier chapter (40).

However, in spite of this rationalizing process which is especially in evidence in both the first and last books of this work, and which, like the first and last books of Valmiki's, probably represent additions and retouchings from later devotees of Rama, yet the intimate, compassionate, and humanlike figure of this hero-god has been idealized in close keeping with the best that was in Tulasi's social situation and inheritance. Moreover, the scenes and events of Rama's career are so filled with the flowers, birds, animals, trees, mountains, rivers, phenomena of wind, storm and sky, village and town-life ideas, and social and religious habits and attitudes, with which peasant and townsman alike were familiar, that this deity's character possessed a remarkable definiteness, a wealth of meaning, and a great intimacy to them. Every means whereby Rama could be localized and related to scenes, events, traditions, and turns of speech, which were familiar to all, would serve to make him that much more real and intimate to the life and needs of all. And this is the great merit of Tulasi's work. It is literally saturated with the spirit and atmosphere of the Indian landscape, its skies, its animal and human group-relations, with a wealth of traditional material, which is drawn from its social inheritance. Tulasi's work has drawn upon all such sources. Rama, the hero-god, has been placed in the very heart of an ideal Indian social situation, which has been constructed out of these familiar elements. Moreover, like all mythological constructs (41), this ideal social situation is sufficiently remote so that it does not suffer from disintegration through being checked up with and criticized by the present. Hence, it is not strange that upon peasant and ruler alike this picture of self-denial, struggle, and subsequent idyllic peace has exercised a truly marvellous influence; and made this work what someone has called a Bible (42) to almost one hundred millions of Hindi-speaking peoples.

In the light of current cosmological notions (43) the times of Tulasi were remote both in distance and in character from the cosmological age in which Rama performed this marvellous work. There is another notion, however, that finds reflection in this work and it is: that Rama is born again and again into the world when-

ever the growth of evil and the distress of his devotees require it. In this we seem to have a distinct reflection of a similar notion, which finds expression in the Bhagavadgita material (44).

Tulasi's Age is the Kaliyuga, the worst of all the cosmological Ages, according to Hindu thought. The description of a former Kaliyuga (45) which is put into the mouth of Bhusundi, a manifestly model devotee of Rama, may be taken as a very fair reflection of the times of the Kaliyuga in the midst of which Tulasi lived. Even though its evil features have been in all probability magnified and sharpened up in order to create a still deeper sense of need for the salvation offered through Rama, yet it may be taken as a fairly good gauge of the social and religious conditions of the times of Tulasi. It was a time of great sinfulness and of moral and religious chaos. All the old and highly reverenced social and religious habits had broken down. No respect was paid either to caste or to the four stages of life. The sacred scriptures were not heeded. They were even attacked and Brahmans had fallen so low that they sold the sacred lore. Many of the Brahmans were unlettered, low and vicious, having even outcastes as wives. Many people of low caste, such as had engaged in unclean occupations, who upon the death of a wife or the loss of household goods, shaved their heads and donned the mendicant's robe. Such as these practise prayer, and the other rites of religion. They take the highest seats and act as expounders of the sacred lore. They even make Brahmans bow down at their feet. Gross materialism is rampant. Parents teach their children the duty of filling their stomachs. Ascetics even amass wealth and mendicants become householders. Men are so selfish and mean that they ignore all self-denial, kindheartedness, or charity. It is a time when men and women alike pamper their bodies and have no regard for the words of the wise or of the poet. Famines are frequent and disease abounds, yet nobody cares for those who suffer. Family usages are disregarded and violated. A son obeys his parents only so long as it pleases him. Wives desert their husbands and consort with strangers. Married women appear without any ornaments, while widows are all aglow with jewels. Rulers follow criminal courses and oppress their subjects, without any regard for either justice or religion. In brief it is a time when everything is unsettled in government, morals, and religion.

This is a dark picture without a ray of light even to brighten it. But there must have been not a few bright rays, else Tulasi and those of his time would not have been able to find the material with which to brighten up and glorify the age of Rama and make it thereby a picture of idyllic beauty and peace. Such things cannot be made up out of wholly imaginative material. They must have some background and basis in experience, else they never would have been written down.

But even when brightened with these nobler elements out of which the creators of this work were able to construct the ideal social situation which surrounds Rama and his rule, yet it is just such a general situation as one would expect to result from the policy which the Moslem rulers had been following even up to the mid-time of Tulasi's life when Akbar created a change in the attitude of the Moslem rule towards the Hindu elements of the Empire, and brought in a day of greater toleration and even encouragement for Hindu culture. Such a policy as these rulers had been pursuing hitherto was calculated to break up all the old settled social and religious order with their involved social habits and attitudes and introduce thereby a time of chaos. This is just the kind of a general picture one gets from this work of Tulasi; and it may be taken therefore as fairly accurate in its broad general lines.

It is over against such dark surroundings that Tulasi set the figure of this intimate, heroic and unselfish Rama. In this Kali-yuga it is this deity alone who is able to give salvation (46). In these references salvation is spoken of as being wrought by the power of Rama's name. According to Tulasi the name of Rama has been known and praised in all these Ages, yet in the earlier of these there were other ways of salvation than that through Rama (47). In the First or Golden Age salvation came by contemplation. In the Second it was by means of sacrifice, while in the Third "temple-worship was the appointed propitiation". But in the Fourth, "this vile and impure.....Age, where the soul of man floats like a fish in an ocean of sin.....the name (i. e. the name of Rama) is the only tree of life..... In these evil days neither good deeds, nor piety, nor spiritual wisdom is of any avail, but only the name of Rama." Such a stressing of the "name" is from a different circle of ideas than the following, which is taken from the concluding section of the work (48). The practices by which Rama's favour, with its resultant gift of salvation, is attained are: the avoidance of rancour and enmity, hope and fear, a constant attitude of repose, a state of passionlessness, homelessness, being without pride and without sin, possessing prudence and wisdom, devoted to the fellowship of the saints, esteeming lightly every object of sense, persistent in faith, and a stranger to impious criticism. Then again it is stated that Rama will be gracious to all, who even "hear" his legend repeated, providing they believe it (49). These three examples, which manifestly come out of as many different circles of ideas, and which might be multiplied both as to variety and number, show clearly that in this piece of literature we do not have consistency as to the "way of salvation". There are in fact several ways. But they all centre around Rama as a part of the technique. There is, however, one paramount "way of salvation" and that is by the path of bhakti. This bhakti is directed towards Rama.

However, in this piece of literature there are also vigorous survivals of the other means for the attainment of salvation, which have been discussed in earlier chapters of this study: namely, by means of the ritual of sacrifice, and the other by means of the technique of asceticism. How are we to regard their presence in this work? Do they represent the after-grafting-on of these two techniques after this Rama cult had become popular and had drawn to its ranks elements from the priestly and the ascetic groups? Did the Rama cult in its development have to reckon with these two other religious techniques from its very beginning, and consequently accommodated itself to their presence in the practices and social inheritance of the people? Whether or not we can answer the above questions there can be no doubt but what the bhakti "way" was a revolt from and an out-growth of the needs which these other techniques failed to meet in the developing social situations which succeeded each other in the early Indo-European group-life in India. To meet these needs the mystic "way" of bhakti came in with its tendencies towards emotionalism and eroticism. The Rama cult, by way of contrast with the Krishna development, represents the higher levels of this whole Bhakti development. It is hard to over-estimate the particular service which this Tulasi phase of the Bhakti development rendered in saving large areas of India's Hindus from the debauching influences of the widely prevalent features of the Krishna development (50).

Attention will now be given to the particular religious technique of this Tulasi "way of salvation". As has already been indicated in a general way, this technique was not uniform in all its parts. In all of it, however, Rama is the nucleating centre. All the varying elements of the technique have some definite relation to him.

In the first place it ought to be stated that Tulasi does not define this complex of habits and attitudes towards the deity, which is summarized under the term "bhakti". What he does, however, is to present a vast number of illustrations of its varying elements and the results in which they eventuate. It is probable that he and his group never felt the need of defining it, for it had long been established in the social inheritance, both as descriptive of a certain type of religious experience, and later as a technical term (51) for purposes of demonstration and for the propagation of a certain way of living in relation to the deity worshipped (52). What remained to be accomplished, therefore, seems to have been largely that of the elaboration of this already established and accepted complex of habits and attitudes in relation to deity; and also that of the direction of this complex towards the hero-god, Rama. This was the task of Tulasi and those of his religious ancestry and posterity in the Rama development.

The fullest description of the elements involved in this bhakti technique, according to Tulasi's work, is to be found in the third book (53) where Lakshman is reported to have inquired from Rama the difference between God and the soul, in order that he might become a perfect and enlightened bhakta of his brother. In answering this question, Rama states, by way of introduction, the ordinary doctrines of the Hindu philosophical schools regarding the illusory character of the senses and of all objects of sense. The great purpose, therefore, is to become free from illusion, which is ignorance. This is what causes man to return again and again to the pit of rebirth. On the other hand, knowledge is the thing to be acquired. It is this by which the world was created. It is also by knowledge that one becomes delivered from the power of illusion; and hence acquires salvation, with freedom from rebirth. Knowledge, therefore "as the Vedas declare" is the giver of salvation. However, to Rama there is a more excellent "way". It is the path of bhakti, which confers upon the devotee great blessings and happiness. It is a path which is independent of all others and stands far above the "way" of knowledge.

However, this path of bhakti is not reached directly, but rather indirectly as was the case, which pertained to the "way" of salvation by knowledge. Knowledge could not be reached directly, but had to be approached by way of piety, then asceticism, and lastly ascetic meditation, which led to the knowledge which brought salvation. So also was the path of bhakti, according to Rama. It is, however, an easy path.

The first thing necessary on the part of the devotee who would enter this path of bhakti is an unquestioning devotion to the feet of the Brahmans. Not only in this connection, but in a great many other places also (54), this same requirement is urged. While there may be differences of interpretation as to just what is involved in this devotion to Brahmans, yet there is no doubt that it at least implies subserviency to them. How are we to think of this which is placed as a requirement of all those who would become bhaktas of Rama? Was the North India Bhakti development unable to shake itself free from the dominance of the Brahmans, in spite of Ramananda's revolt against the Brahmanizing influence of Ramanuja and his group? Or does this represent the later incoming of the Brahman influence when the Rama cult became widespread and popular in North India? These are questions to which it is possible at present to give only a tentative answer.

Another requirement of all those who would follow Rama is a close adherence to the Scriptures. In this case it is difficult to determine just what is referred to. Is the reference to the whole mass of sacred lore, revered by the Brahmans, or does it refer speci-

fically to the treatises of some one or other of the Bhagavatas ? Or, on the other hand, is the reference confined to the Rama legend ? Here again one is at a loss to give any matured judgment regarding such perplexing problems. These two requirements, it is held, will issue in detachment from the world and in a delight in the worship of Rama. However, these requirements when kept are not to be thought of as bhakti itself, but merely as preliminaries to it.

In contradistinction to asceticism, which sought to reduce life and hence eliminate the senses which were thought of as tending continually towards evil and rebirth, the path of bhakti does not regard them as obstacles on the path leading to salvation, but rather as means for enhancing and enriching this bhakti complex of habits and attitudes towards the deity. Furthermore, Rama is made to say to Lakshman that there are nine kinds, or elements in this bhakti complex, which he enumerates (55). They are as follows: first there will be in the soul of the devotee this attitude of bhakti towards all the manifestations of Rama. Is Rama being thought of here in terms of Vishnu and his incarnations ? It certainly presents that appearance. Furthermore, is this an effort to find room in the Rama cult for the other manifestations of Vishnu ? This work is full of the atmosphere of eclecticism. Again one is unable as yet to determine whether this represents the work of Tulasi, or that of others.

A second element in this bhakti complex, as given by Rama, is a great devotion for "the lotus feet of the saints". This concerns itself not only with an attitude, but is to show itself in service to one's spiritual teacher, parents, family, and masters. In another section (56) this bhakti complex of habits and attitudes to one's spiritual teacher is considered separately, and hence is classed as a third element. In fact the two classifications which are found in the above sections of the third book do not correspond in every particular. They vary in order as well as in topics.

The fourth element is the habit of singing the praises of Rama (57), or of persistency in prayer (58). The fifth is related to the former: namely, the repetition of Rama's mystic charms (59). The sixth consists of attitudes of self-restraint, gentleness, detachment from the world, and in every action a loving and persevering piety (60). The seventh is that kind of an attitude which sees the whole world as full of Rama, and which honors the saints even more than Rama himself. Is this last item hyperbole ? Perhaps it means nothing more than that the devotee is to see Rama in each of the saints. The eighth is an attitude of contentment with such as one has, and freedom from the critical attitude towards others. The last one, the ninth, is an attitude of guileless simplicity towards all, and a hearty confidence in Rama himself, possessing meanwhile a mind free from both joy and dejection (61). This last is certainly not in

keeping with certain other elements in the bhakti complex, for it savours of the Vedantic school of thought, which has no personal deity. This is distinctly out of harmony with devotion to a personal deity which always engenders an emotional attitude. These nine elements may also be thought of as stages on the path of bhakti. Anyone who possesses even one of these is the friend of Rama (62). This friendship may be attained by any man, woman, or even animal, as may be seen in the case of Bhusundi, the crow (63). This salvation is the heavenly prize, which formerly was so difficult to possess, even by the great ascetics. But in this Kaliyuga it may be the possession of all.

Here then in brief is the religious technique of the bhakti "way of salvation" as it is presented in this work. This technique has little or no logical consistency and gives the impression of something composite, which has been brought together from various sources and which seeks to serve conflicting interests within the movement itself. It really reflects stray bits of thought and practice throughout almost the whole gamit of Hindu development. Yet, it is all more or less suffused with the warmth of the bhakti atmosphere. From this study one gets the impression that there is a constant tendency for the bhakti complex to pass over more and more from being a complex of habits and attitudes towards the deity and towards all and everything in any way connected with deity to a complex of mere attitudes minus the habits. Furthermore, the tendency even with these attitudes towards deity and all connected therewith is to become passive rather than active attitudes. This is all in keeping with the practices and habits of thought which long before this had become deeply embedded in the social inheritance: namely, the practice of asceticism, and the Brahman cosmic construct.

Moreover, we see this bhakti technique on its way to becoming a cosmic construct, as was the case with the techniques of sacrifice and of asceticism in the earlier religious developments. Already it has become so commanding that it has brought even the gods within the sweep of its practice. The gods too as well as men must practice bhakti. This process, as reflected in Tulasi's work, was already well on its way in the case of Rama. Signs of this may be seen in the elevation of the name of Rama above Rama himself. While it is true that this is clearly an evidence of Tantric influences at work in the Rama development, yet it shows that the tendency to retire Rama before something else was already on its way.

Furthermore, a tendency is manifest to elaborate this particular technique yet more and more. In later developments of bhakti this is especially marked (64). This also would tend to develop the "schema" into a cosmic construct from which is projected the entire world-scheme of things.

Attention will now be given to the content of this Bhakti "way of salvation". Here also uniformity of content is not to be found. This development has drained from too many varying sources and has sought to meet too many varying interests for one to expect such a result. In the content of the Tulasi way of salvation scattered scraps as well as vigorous survivals of the various types of salvation are to be found. This is almost inevitable, since India's religious development has been more continuous perhaps (65) than that of any other country in the world. Consequently, in the Tulasi "way" we may expect to find reflections of practically every type of salvation, which had been sought up to that time. Furthermore, since Tulasi's "way" was offered to all, irrespective of caste or sex; and since these were made up so largely of the ignorant masses, whose world for the most part was the world of primitivity, we need not be surprised to find the large place, given to demons, and deliverance from them. This is just what we find when we come to consider the things from which the path of bhakti was to furnish salvation. The very popularity of this particular phase of the Bhakti development would tend to fill the content of this "way" with widely differing shades of meaning. For example, to the ignorant masses, who all their lifetime were subject to the fear of demons, that dogged their steps with disease and distress of every kind, the path of bhakti meant salvation from all such. Rama had become incarnate to rid the world of demons and he had succeeded. In doing this he had brought salvation, or a this-world release from distress for his devotees, for Brahmans, cows, gods, and even the earth itself (66). Then again the salvation that is wrought by Rama means that the "deep brand of an evil destiny" is blotted from the forehead. Rama is able to do this because, unlike all the rest of the gods, he is superior to fate. To still others the salvation which the Rama technique mediated was deliverance from rebirth in this world and a place in Rama's heaven in the next (67). A place in his heaven is extended even to a demon (68), and to an unclean, flesh-eating bird (69). This other-world salvation, which is stressed in some of the passages (70), does not mean absorption into the deity, but an immortal life in communion with Rama. This notion is in striking contrast with the one more prevalent among the philosophically-minded.

The above are the recurring notions in this work. These help to define and elaborate the content of the Tulasi "way of salvation". This Rama, who is the centre of the religious technique whereby the salvation desired is mediated, is represented again and again as incarnate because of his gracious desire "to redeem his people" (71). Bhusundi, who may be taken as a model bhakta is informed by Rama (72) to "apply your mind to listen to and worship me only, abjuring all others. The world is the product of my delusive power, with

all its varieties of life, both moving and motionless. I love them all, for all are my creatures; but man is the creature that delights me most. Of men, Brahmans; of Brahmans, those who study the Vedas; of these such as those who follow the precepts of the sacred texts; of these again celibates are my favorites, and yet more the wise; of the wise I love best the spiritually wise, and of these the best beloved of all are my own servants, who come to me and have no other hope.....I tell you of a truth there are none so dear to me as my own disciples. If Brahma himself had no faith in me, he would be no dearer to me than any other creature; while the meanest creature that breathes, if possessed of faith (i. e. bhakti)), is as dear to me as my own soul; this is my doctrine". ".....all animate and inanimate beings, including brute beasts, gods, men, and demons, in short the entire universe that I have created, is viewed by me with equal compassion; but amongst them all, if there be one who foreswears vanity and delusion and worships me only in thought, word, and deed, whether he be man, eunuch, woman, whether animate, or inanimate, if with all his soul he sincerely worships me, he is my best-beloved."

Here then we have Rama as the Supreme. Nevertheless, he has an attitude of condescension and loving favour towards all even the meanest. All may be assured of his love. The way to secure his loving favour is easy. It is the "way" of bhakti. Is it to be wondered at, therefore, that this cult spread so rapidly and widely as it has ?

We shall now turn to the concluding section of this chapter : namely, the needs in the social situation which this "way of salvation" sought to meet. The evidence that it met these needs to a large degree is to be found in the early and widespread popularity of both the name and the work of this man Tulasi. H. H. Wilson stated (73) sometime ago that the works of this man "exercise more influence upon the great body of Hindu population than the whole voluminous series of Sanscrit composition." The intervening years have served only to enhance this earlier estimate of his influence upon the Hindi-speaking peoples' life and thought (74). Grierson, who more perhaps than any other Western scholar has given extended study to the life and work of Tulasi, writes of him (75) as an Indian reformer, who with the single exception perhaps, of the Buddha, has been adopted as the religious teacher by more professed followers than any other leader in religious reform in India. This means that both in its technique and in its message Tulasi's work met the religious needs of the Hindi-speaking social situation in a surprisingly large and effective manner. Tulasi did not concern himself with establishing a sect, but he chose rather to embed his convictions and beliefs in a literary construct of rare beauty. This is drawn from the best elements of the traditional material and from the total situation of his life and times. To-day among Hindi-

speaking peoples in India scores and scores of its charming word-pictures of indigeneous scenes in town and country, its flashes of rare wit, its homely words of wisdom, and its many notes of deep piety are in the daily repertoire of the speech of peasant and raja alike, and of the ignorant as well as of the learned.

All these present-day facts are evidence of the deep hold that Tulasi's message has exercised for a long time over multitudes of Hindus north of the Vindhyas. Such an influence could not have grown up in a brief time and become so deeply integrated in every phase of the Hindi-speaking peoples' life as well as their thought. Such integration needs time for its growth.

What were the religious needs of the social situation among Hindus in the times of Tulasi. It is obvious that such a question can be answered only in a most general way. And yet it is possible for such an answer to register the more significant factors which were operating to create needs, that such a deity as Rama might be expected to meet in some significant way. It is Bhandarkar who has informed us (76) that no symbols, or temples of the early worship of Rama have been discovered. Does this mean that the Rama worship started without any such symbols as the objects of reverence and worship ? The question is at least worth considering especially when we link with it the fact that it is not until after the Mohammedan occupation of India, with its worship of an unsymbolized deity, that we have the rise into prominence of the Rama development. The Mohammedan occupation of India, north of the Vindhyas especially, had been marked by a very general mutilation of the idols and a spoliation of their temples (77). Would not this inability on the part of the idols of the gods to protect themselves against such ravages tend to discredit them in the eyes of the masses of Hindu worshippers ? How much did such a situation have to do with creating the contempt for the ordinary run of the gods as reflected in the work of Tulasi ? In this work they are the butt of rude jokes and ridicule. The total impression from Tulasi's work is that of both the impotency and the remoteness of the ancient gods. There is a story from Kabir (78): that upon one occasion he threw into the river idols of the gods which his spiritual guide had given him one day with instructions to wash them. The popularity and the rapid spread of the influences from Tulasi and his work would not have been so great if there had not existed already in the social situation of this reformer's time growing habits and attitudes of distrust and of contempt for the traditional gods and their established worship. People cannot find satisfaction long for their deep human needs in times of crises and change in religious objects that have become discredited, or have suffered deterioration. Such experiences are certain to issue in a more or less keenly felt religious

chaos. Such in general is what is reflected in the times of the Moguls and in this work of Tulasi's.

But people cannot live without faith in what they consider their deities, and least of all the people of India. They must have something, especially in the times of crises and change, to which in all sincerity they may be able to say "god". This something may be nothing more than a rude fetish, such as a peculiarly shaped stone, or a stick. Or on the other hand this something may be the cosmic construct of the Vedantist. In any case it must be something which the worshipper *believes* helps him to "equiliberate" himself with his specific situation, or with his world as he knows it through his experiences. This something man must have. It must be considered adequate to enable him to control or adjust himself to his situation. Until he does have this something, call it what one may, he is beset with conflicts both from within and without. These conflict situations are greatly intensified when he is but one of a group that experience this need for satisfaction in the presence of a new situation.

But this deterioration of the traditional gods and their established forms of worship would tend also to affect the priestly orders and the lore connected with these temples and their gods. Tulasi would not have referred in his work to the Brahmans stooping so low as to sell the sacred lore (79), or of the place of the Brahmans being filled by men of low caste (80), if such things had not taken place in actual experience. It is from actual experience that men get such suggestions. All such statements go to show that the life of the time was deeply disturbed from its usual religious channels. Moreover, the popular religious reforms, to which reference has already been made (81), and which had grown apace since the incoming of the Mohammedan power, are further evidence of the deep and growing religious unrest. Much of this the established worship with its traditional gods was unable to satisfy.

It was into such a general social situation that Tulasi came with his message of Rama. What was there in such a deity to attract the attention and win the devotion of such great multitudes? With consummate skill Tulasi has painted an appealing word-picture of his hero-deity.

Over against the selfish and impotent traditional deities stands the magnanimous and unselfish figure of the heroic Rama. Over against their demonstrated weakness stands his demonstrated power to handle adequately and with great skill every situation, that confronted him, even to the slaughtering of the demon king and the destruction of his demon host. For it must be remembered that this was all history to them. While it is true that the traditional deities also had their history, yet it was not integrated into the whole

social situation and total Indian environment, such as was the case with Rama. Consequently, he could become a living and much more vital factor in their lives than could the ancient deities, who both in language and in habits were remote from the actual needs and daily problems of the people. In these many respects and in their obvious implications Rama was a much more appealing and winsome deity than those of old.

Then again his conflict with the demons, which bulks so large in his story of high endeavour and unselfish service, could not but find large interest and power with the masses of the people, who lived and still live with that demon-world ever real, near, and continually breaking in upon them to mar their peace, destroy their crops, burn their homes, disturb their domestic felicity, waylay them at night by the wayside, or in the deep jungle, and to smite both them and theirs with disease and death. It is, therefore, not difficult to see how the figure of this great demon-conqueror with his message of loving grace and condescension to all would come as a great and joyous release to multitudes of the masses. He spoke the language of the people and his was a message of help to all, even the lowliest (82). Therefore, both in respect to his consideration for all classes of people and in his resourcefulness he stands high above all the old-time deities, whether of classic or local origin. He was such a deity as would appeal to multitudes, beset by many fears.

Moreover, their ancient deities were suffering from serious discredit and deterioration, as evidenced in Tulasi's work. Nevertheless, we must not take these reflections at their face value, because Tulasi and his group, whether consciously or unconsciously, were interested in throwing Rama into as high lights as possible. This is accomplished in part by dulling the reality and vividness of the traditional deities' power and character. However, the rapidly growing popularity of this reform of Tulasi's is evidence that there existed already in the social situation this feeling as to the impotency of the traditional objects of worship. Then, on the other hand, the effort at accommodation, which is manifest in this work, in relation especially to such a deity as Shiva (83), shows that Tulasi and his group had to reckon with a social and religious situation in which the cult of Shiva was strong. Or was Tulasi a Smarta Brahman (84), who worshipped the five chief traditional deities of the Hindus (85)? It is of course impossible at present, for reasons already stated (86), to determine how much of this accommodation belongs to Tulasi's own time and how much to rehandling by others. In any case the Rama development was compelled to reckon with other religious interests and objects of worship. This has resulted, whether consciously or unconsciously, in introducing eclectic elements.

Then, by way of contrast with Krishna, especially Krishna-Radha (87), Rama with his consort Sita is fitted to meet the needs of those who are more clean-minded and more given to asceticism and contemplation, than are the masses generally. Rama and Sita's life and relations, either with themselves or with others, are clean and wholesome, and, as such, they have become the man and woman-model for multitudes of devout Indians to-day. This is not an attitude towards Rama and Sita that has grown up merely in recent years. The painting of such a picture of wifely devotion and of moral strenuousness on the part of these two, means that suggestive material must have lain within the experience of Tulasi, else he could not have found the stuff out of which to paint such an appealing picture. This would mean also that there were those to whom such a picture of deity would appeal. If this were not true then this portrait would never have been passed on in the social inheritance. It would have disappeared in its transit from that time to our own day. The fact that this picture has been perpetuated and added to as a deity of love and grace, and the fact that the integration of this ideal with its habits and attitudes into all grades of life among Hindi-speaking peoples, is in itself weighty evidence as to the manner in which such a deity appealed to high and low, rich and poor, educated and ignorant alike in the times of Tulasi and after. As to whether this deity can meet the deepest inner human needs in India to-day is another question to which reference will be made in the concluding chapter. In any case Rama will continue to function for multitudes in North India until the traditional material and social situation have become so altered that the Rama technique and content of salvation cease to satisfy the human needs in a new situation. This new situation is already emerging. What will be the technique and the content of the "way of salvation" which will be adequate to satisfy the human needs in the presence of such a new social and religious situation ? This is the problem to which all who wish for India the highest and greatest things of life must address themselves with deep sincerity and high devotion.

REFERENCE NOTES.

(1). The Treta, p. 172.

(2). Ramayan, IV, Chaup. of Doha 22; III, Chaup. of Doha 25; III, Chaup. of Doha 15.

(3). Mahabharata, XII, 336, 8—9 (Dutt).

(4). Mahabharata, XII, 336, 7, 9 (Dutt).

(5). III, Chaup. of Doha 19; III, Chhand p. 325, (Nagari Pracharini Ed.) Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, p. 162ff.

(6). I, Chaup. of Doha 174.

(7). II, Chaup. of Doha 12; III, Chaup. of Doha 29.

(8). VI, Doha 72; VI, Chaup. of Doha 84; VI. Chaup. of D. 52; VI, Doha 6.

(9). I, Chaup. of Doha 134; II, Doha 295; II, Doha 316.

(10). I, Chaup. of Doha 23.

(11). I, Chaup. of Doha 3; I, Doha 125.

(12). II, Doha 295.

(13). VI, Doha 70 and Chaupai of 67; II, Chaup. of Doha 240.

(14). II, Chaup. of Doha 284.

(15). II, Chaup. of Doha 216.

(16). II, ,, ,, 216, line 8.

(17). I, Doha 181; I, Chaup. of Doha 181.

(18). I, Chaup. of Doha 164, and of Doha 165; I, Chaup. of Doha 174, line 7; I, Chaup. of Doha 272.

(19). I, Chaup. of Doha 322; I, Doha 324.

(20). VI, Chaup. of Doha 70.

(21). I, Chaup. of Doha 188 and of 189.

(22). I, Chaup. of Doha 187.

(23). I, Chaup. of Doha 182.

(24). I, Chaup. of Soratha 183.

(25). I, Chaup. of Doha 176, 177.

(26). I, Chhand and Soratha p. 88 (Nagari Pracharini Sabha Ed.)

(27). IV, Chaup. of Doha 7.

(28). VI, Doha 70.

(29). VI, Chaup. of Doha 1; Chaupai of Doha 3.

(30). VII, Doha 79.

(31). I, Chaup. of Doha 49.

(32). VI, Chaup. of Doha 60, line 1; III, Chaup. of Doha 28.

(33). Tulasi has eliminated the story of Rama's departure to heaven, which is contained in the Uttarakanda of Valmiki's work, Muir: Sanskrit Texts, IV, p. 477ff.

(34). Uttarakanda, Secs., Muir, ibid., IV, p. 439ff.

(35). Muir, ibid. p. 480.

(36). VI, Chaup. of Doha 116.

(37). VII, Chaup. of Doha 26.

(38). VII, Doha 47.

(39). VI, Chaup. of Doha 113.
(40). Chap. III.
(41). Mythology of All Races, I, p. xliif.
(42). V. Smith, Akbar, p. 419.
(43). The Age in which Tulasi lived was the Kaliyuga, the worst age in the recurring cycle of four Yugas.
(44). Bhagavadgita, Ch. IV, 8 (trans. by Telang, S. B. E. VIII).
(45). VII, Chaup. of Doha 96ff.
(46). I, Chaup. of Doha 21; I, Chaup. of Doha 26.
(47). I, Chaup. of Doha 26.
(48). VII, Chaup. of Doha 45.
(49), VII, Doha 126.
(50). Grierson, Art. in J. R. A. S. (1903), p. 455.
(51). ,, Art. on "Bhakti Marga", E. R. E.
(52). ,, Art. in J. R. A. S. (1903), p. 455.
(53). III, Doha 16.
(54). VII, Chaup. of Doha 108.
(55). III, Chaup. of Doha 17.
(56). III, Doha 38.
(57). III, Doha 38.
(58). III, Chaup. of Doha 17.
(59). III, Chaup. of Doha 38.
(60). ,, ,, ,, ,,
(61). ,, ,, ,, ,, There is emotion, however, in III, Chaup. of Doha 17.
(62). III, Chaup. of Doha 38.
(63). VII, Chaup. of Doha 75ff.
(64). Grierson, Arts. on "Bhakti Mala" in J. R. A. S. (1909), p. 607ff., (1910), 87ff., 269ff., &c.
(65). Macdonell, Art. in Imperial Gaz., II, p. 206.
(66). I, Chaup. of Soratha 120.
(67). VII, Chaup. of Doha 14.
(68). III, Chaup. of Doha 28.
(69). III, Chaup. of Doha 35.
(70). III, Chaup. of Doha 10; VI, Chaup. of Doha 111.
(71). I, Chh. 2, p. 30 (Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Ed.)
(72). VII, Chaup. 85.
(73). Ency., Brit. XIII, p. 509, H. H. Wilson: Religious Sects of the Hindus.
(74). V. Smith, Akbar, p. 419f.
(75). Imperial Gaz., II, p. 418.
(76). Bhandarkar, Vaisnavism, &c., p. 47.
(77). F. S. Growse, Mathura, p. 32ff.
(78). Macauliffe, Hist. of the Sikh Religion, VI.

(79). VII, Chaup. of Doha 97.
(80). VII, Chaup. of Doha 99.
(81). Chap. V.
(82). III, Doha 39.
(83). VI, Chaup. of Doha 2; VI, Doha 3.
(84). Farquhar, ibid p. 329f.
(85). „ „ p. 140ff.
(86). Grierson, Art. in J. R. A. S. (1903), p. 459.
(87). p. 73.

REVIEW AND CONCLUSIONS.

In this concluding chapter attention will be given first to a brief review of the three dominant ways of salvation that characterize India's religious development down to the time of Tulasi, with special reference to the latter's phase of the Bhakti development ; and, in the second place, a statement of conclusions that bear an intimate relation to the task undertaken.

It is obvious that such a task as has been attempted in this thesis would necessitate a rather wide survey of the main lines of India's religious development. This has been undertaken and pursued with some awareness at least of the many gaps that exist in the available historical data. Consequently, in some cases both the problems as well as the solutions suggested, which are involved in certain phases of this development, have been stated more or less tentatively. And in a few cases, even the problems themselves are not clear. Hence, it has not been found possible to set them forth adequately.

However, even though all necessary and adequate data are not available as yet, in order that one might set forth all the factors involved and appraise each as to its relative importance in relation to the whole in promoting the main lines of India's religious development, yet the main factors are sufficiently clear to enable one to see just how the beliefs and practices for the attainment of salvation came to vary with the changing social situation. Furthermore, while it is true that these various paths for the attainment of salvation became more and more inextricably interwoven with one another in India's later religious development, yet each is sufficiently distinct in outline in its groundwork, both as to technique and content, to make it certain that each arose and had its early development as a response to human needs, which in turn were experienced in specific social situations. Hence, it is reasonably clear that in India also, as has been the case with religious developments elsewhere whose various stages are clearly traceable, both the type of salvation which those concerned felt they stood in need of and also the technique for the attainment of the same are historically conditioned. Both technique and content have a definite relation with and take their significance from the total situation in which any such group lives its life. This total situation includes such factors as the geographical location of a people, their contacts or lack of contacts with other groups and the stages of culture of these latter, a people's own economic and general cultural status, its leaders or lack of such, its god-world, and in general the traditional material of its social inheritance, especially that which from time to time takes on religious significance.

In brief, it is the individual, especially the leader, and the group reacting both to changing and to stabilized factors, such as have been indicated above, that cause the emergence of problems for the individual and the group. Problems arise in the social situation at that point where the customary reactions cease to furnish an adequate and satisfying response to a new situation, which is emerging. It is in this field of problems where the need for religion begins to be felt. Religion then, from this problem-point of view, may be thought of as that in which the human or its group seeks re-enforcement from beyond itself and its fellows, as humans, in order to establish an " equilibration " with the total situation, which may include the god-world also, in relation to which the individual or group feels itself in maladjustment. Then again, this maladjustment experienced will vary as the religious culture of the individual or the group varies. The maladjustment may be concerned primarily with things material, such as the altered economic, political, or social status of a group, or of its leaders. Or, on the other hand, this experienced maladjustment may be inner and primarily spiritual. This arises with the conviction of personal sin, and the sense of the need for right relations with deity and with one's fellows, which grow out of the recognized character of deity.

It follows, therefore, that we need not be surprised to find that the felt-needs in one social situation will vary somewhat in character and in point of emphasis from the felt-needs in another type. The technique also which may be seized upon to meet such felt-needs is likely to vary as varies the traditional material. Moreover, these will be such parts of the traditional material as may happen to come into the focus of attention when the stress and conflict after adjustment is on. Then it is that the individual leader, as well as the group which may be concerned, is most suggestible. This openness to suggestibility in times of great crises, which is characteristic of individual leader and group alike, is perhaps the largest factor in getting any particular element of traditional material, which may happen to get into the focus of attention, integrated as technique in a group's notion of the salvation it feels it needs. On the other hand, however, it ought to be clearly stated that the more definitely this maladjustment, which is experienced, is felt to be inner and partaking of the nature of the spiritual to that extent it is seen that the great inner needs of man the world-over have much in common. Here also, although the technique may still differ somewhat, it will be found to be the tool, used to express or mediate the need for a salvation that is concerned fundamentally and primarily with what is spiritual, rather than with what is merely economic, political or social.

With fundamental facts, such as the above, in mind one may now turn to a review of India's religious development in relation

to its types of salvation. In broad outlines there are three quite well-defined ways for the attainment of salvation. Each of these has its own content and its technique.

The type of salvation which the early Aryans sought was clearly a this-world salvation. Its technique was the sacrifice and its accompanying priestly ministrants. This was frankly a method of bargaining with the deities and of persuading them to bestow the earthly blessings which sacrificer and ministrants desired : victory over their enemies, a plenty both of sons and of cows, as well as deliverance from the ever-present demons. Beautiful as many of the hymns of the Rig-Veda are, which voice this need, they are primarily a means to an end that is largely ignoble. Although the ends sought are frankly selfish and of the earth earthy, yet it would appear that the deities were not only looked upon as free personal beings, who had to be entreated, but also that these sacrificers held sincerely to the reality of these deities. The tenth book of the Rig-Veda, however, begins to reflect a different spirit, which becomes even more marked in the Atharva-Veda. The deities now are retired more and more into the background as free personal beings. They too are subject to the power of magic and are under the necessity of practising asceticism. Prayer, ritual and sacrifice, which in the Rig-Veda were performed in relation to these deities, are now powers which exist in and of themselves alongside of the deities. All this represents a profound change in religious outlook and a deep unsettling of the old social order. The causes which were at work to create this radical change have been referred to already in a previous chapter (1).

Such a corroding of the sacrifice type of salvation and its technique was inevitable in such an altered social situation. Newly-experienced needs, which every new emerging social situation creates, are at first reacted to by more or less unconscious responses. These at first, as it were, would be impulsive adventures or random attempts to meet these new felt-needs. Such early random responses are most likely to take up some of the more primitive elements in the traditional material as the ground-structure of their technique. It is a matter of common observation that in times of great change when all seems to be in chaos the individual, as well as the group, has a strong tendency to revert to more primitive practice, especially in matters religious. While at present we do not have enough data to verify this characteristic sociological and psychological phenomenon in respect to this period in India, yet it is highly probable that when this new social situation was emerging it was the widely prevalent practice of austerities that gave the ground-structure to the ascetic way of salvation. As has been noted in an earlier chapter, this practice is a more or less vigorous survival of such practices as tribal initiation-ceremonies. As such, these practices would be

deeply rooted in the early group life and would carry within themselves the momentum of fixed social habit, the prestige of the ancestors' example and the favour of the god-world. Practices, such as these, would come into the focus of attention; and in turn would form the nuclei around which would gather a more or less modified technique with a new content, calculated to bring satisfaction to the newly-experienced needs. It was by some such process as the above that the ascetic type of salvation got under way in the new social situation, which life in the Gangetic plains created.

Meanwhile, however, the sacrifice way of salvation is not wholly unresponsive to the altered social situation. It receives not only an elaboration but also a modification to meet the altered needs. This development takes two directions at this time. On the one hand, it becomes more intimately integrated with more popular elements in the religion of the masses. Hence, in the later Vedas, especially the Atharva and the Brahmana literature, the technique as well as the content of the salvation, secured by sacrifice, is modifed by the introduction of popular deities and of a great mass of magical formulae. Then, on the other hand, there is a philosophical tendency. This is foreshadowed in some of the later Vedic hymns and receives greater elaboration and definiteness in the Brahmana and Upanishadic literature in which sacrifice and all connected therewith become permeated with symbolical and allegorical notions. In time this negatives the whole sacrifice development and it passes over to become a part of the ascetic development.

This ascetic way of salvation, promoted and reinforced as it doubtless was by the more primitive elements in the traditional material of India's group life, would furnish in the new social situation a moral and religious ideal that would not fail to make its appeal to the more noble and sincere. The way of sacrifice was essentially aristocratic and limited to the higher classes. Whereas the ascetic way was for all. It would appeal to high and lowly alike. To the lowly it would afford release from the growing tyranny of the caste system, and from the economic pressure and the disappointments, incident to the caste social order, and also admission into a present state in which caste had no legitimate place, and in the end into a heaven in which caste is unknown. To the leisured, who were either serious-minded or satiated with worldly indulgence, it represented a salvation from world-weariness, fleshly passions and the disappointments of this life to a release from rebirth in the future and to ultimate absorption in the All of reality. Both Jainism and Buddhism came within the sweep of this ascetic movement in their beginnings. Later, however, after the death of their founders they both came to have a more intimate connection with the bhakti, rather than with the ascetic development.

This same period is marked also by the rise into prominence of the more or less primitively-rooted notions of transmigration, fate and karma. All these notions receive great extension and elaboration. They serve to give great reinforcement to the ascetic ideal. The elaboration and refinement of these notions were doubtless mutually operative.

The technique of this ascetic path also receives great extension, elaboration, and refinement until it forms the basis and substance of the Yoga system. All this would be the natural outcome of the effort to control, reduce and eliminate the desires of those who followed this path.

This became an exceedingly popular way for the attainment of salvation. Evidences of this are abundant in both the Buddhist and Brahman literature of the period and later. It must have met some deep need, therefore, in the social situation of the time. The human needs which it met were not confined to one class of the social strata. Those who entered this life came from all avenues and walks of life, representing alike the high and the low, the cultured and the uncultured of the time. This way also represented freedom from the aristocratic, mercenary, and low-browed priesthood, who themselves were so effected economically and otherwise that very many of them either entered other occupations, or became adherents of the ascetic way of life.

But this ascetic way, popular as it was, represented a fierce struggle for the attainment of its goal. Hence, many fell by the way side, with the goal unattained. This struggle was complicated and greatly intensified for many by their past indulgent lives. Habits and attitudes, with their memory images, such as had been built into the structure of their lives by evil living would of necessity be brought over into this new type of life, since they could not be eliminated all at once or even ultimately. All these factors would make the struggle very difficult for many. In brief, as an outcome of this now popular ascetic way of life and the inner struggles which it evoked there emerged a new social situation with points of strain and tension, which registered unmet human needs. They were created and then left unmet by the ascetic way. It is true, however, that there is an effort after adjustment, which was more or less unconscious and of the trial and error sort in its beginnings and early stages. This effort after adjustment to meet these newly-experienced needs, which the ascetic way created but did not satisfy, developed devices and technique for the control and discharge of sexual power, for mystic contemplation, for the trance experience, and for taking care of the erotic sentiment in general. But the very fact that we have at this period and later the rise and growing prominence of the bhakti attitude towards deity, which gave large release to the

emotions, is sufficient proof that the ascetic struggle for the attainment of its goal created human emotional needs, that in spite of its special technique, it could not adequately satisfy. It was only those, gifted with large imaginative powers and masters of the mystic way, such as the Buddha, who could drain off this pent-up emotional complex by mystic contemplation and trance experiences. To the rank and file among the ascetics, as well as among the masses, this was a goal unattainable, even though some of them sought it most earnestly.

So to these latter a face to face relation with deity or its symbols was an experienced necessity. They needed a deity whom they could look upon or one who in some way or other could be localized with their group life. It is the popular local god, or the local hero, raised in time to deityhood, that is used to meet this common human need. And upon such the religious emotions of the individual or the group could be expended. Consequently, parallel with the retirement of the Vedic gods, which resulted from the exaltation and Brahmanizing of the sacrifice, and parallel also with the ascetic struggle to achieve the goal of absorption in the Brahman, the great All of reality, there grew up into more and more prominence the crude, yet intimate, immediate, and increasingly popular worship of the local deity, or hero, raised to deityhood. These deities became so popular and hence serviceable for some one or other reasons that they passed beyond their local habitations and took on by accretions the qualities of other local gods, into whose local territories the former entered as a missionary faith.

Therefore, it was around nuclei, such as these more popular local gods and heroes, that the bhakti attitude towards deity takes its beginnings and early development. It begins to come into prominence when the ascetic way began to be discredited and to break down through its inability to adequately satisfy the emotional needs which its technique had created and built into a pent-up inner complex, that had to find some normal outlet. We catch more or less distinct glimpses of the beginnings and early stages of this bhakti complex of habits and attitudes towards deity in the early development of the Vasudeva-Krishna worship in the land of modern Gujerat, and in the fervent emotional attitude of the Buddha towards his imaginative construct of the "middle way", and later that of his followers in their attitude towards their great leader. The great popularity of the Buddhist movement in its early development may be taken as fairly good evidence that the bhakti attitude, which it cultivated in its adherents towards their great leader, now made a deity, met a deeply-felt human need which had not been supplied by the ascetic way. It is not without its significance that great numbers of ascetics entered the Buddhist movement, if we may trust even to a modest degree the literary sources which reflect such an influx from the ascetic way of life.

This bhakti development, like that of the Jain and Buddhist movements, seems to have been popular and un-Brahmanical in its early stages. But unfortunately when we first get a more or less distinct view of it, it already has become Brahmanized.

In the ninth century of our era Shankaracharya arose in South India as a great protagonist of the Vedantic development of Hindu philosophical thought. It is held that his literary work goes to show that his controversial materials get their point and setting as attacks on Buddhism. Be this as it may, his Advaita philosophy cut the ground from underneath the dualism, or "modified monism" of which Ramanuja, the great religious reformer of some centuries later in South India, was an advocate and consequently an opponent of the unqualified Monism, of Shankaracharya. He attacked the latter vigorously as being an incorrect interpreter of the earlier literature. Thibaut holds that it is more likely that it is Shankara and not Ramanuja who is the innovator in the advocacy of an unqualified Monism, as being taught by the earlier literature.

As the work of Ramanuja was prepared for by a group of preachers, controversialists, and singers in the Tamil vernacular, so also he is followed by those who carry forward his work with greater or less modification. Some generations later in this line of development comes Ramananda. It is with this leader, concerning whom we have so little accurate knowledge, that a much more popular turn is given to the whole Vaishnava development, than it possessed under Ramanuja. This bhakti way of salvation is thrown open to all without any restrictions as to caste or religion. Consequently, Ramananda's reputed immediate group of disciples represents a wide range of social status, occupation, and religion. This development in Ramananda's day is contemporary with a widespread religious development, especially in North and West India and later in Bengal. With this development in these various areas are associated many leaders who preach and write in their local vernaculars. Hence, a great impetus and widespread popularity is given to this development ; into which inheritance such men as Tulasi Das came. This development in the line of Ramananda represents not merely a greater popularization of the Bhakti way of salvation, but also the exaltation of the hero-god Rama into the focus of attention as the one object of bhakti who is worthy. At present we are unable to determine what gave the turn to this new development. Was it the moral decadence of the Krishna phases of the Bhakti development, or was it a more or less unconscious process growing out of the fact that Rama had long been a popular hero, and in some places was revered already as deity ?

It was into such a social inheritance that Tulasi Das came. Its traditional material held as one of its religious treasures this

appealing story of the hero-deity, Rama. This story was already deeply integrated in the life of Tulasi's times. If we may trust tradition, he grew up as a youth acquainted with this Rama story; and hence, to him as to many others of his time, it was received as representative of historical facts. This story was of such a character as to exercise a powerful influence over a mind which shared along with others of that time a profound belief in the reality and proximity of demons and the terrible demon-world.

Moreover, in the social inheritance into which Tulasi came there was a large body of traditional material that registered a growing distrust of and even a contempt for the ancient deities. This was due both to the current notions about their trivialities and impotence as well as to their remoteness from the daily life and concerns of the people. Furthermore, it was a current belief that many of these deities were not only crude and selfish, but also limited in their realm of authority.

What was really needed then, it was held by Tulasi, was a deity like Rama, who when he lived upon earth in the Tretayuga, rid the earth of both the demons and their king, Ravana. To the masses of the people in Tulasi's day, as is still the case to-day, this demon-world was ever near. From this ever-present demon-world the demons, almost countless in number, form and variety, were continually breaking-in upon the life of the people to disturb their peace, ruin their families, their homes, their crops and other possessions, pollute their religious rites and in general to spread terror and ruin everywhere. Hence, what greater and more serviceable deity could there be than this Rama? In fact the ancient and so-called great deities, had to call upon Rama to deliver even them from the distress and devastations, which they were suffering at the hands of the demon-king, Ravana. The conclusion to be drawn from such a representation of Rama is obvious. Furthermore, this Rama was such a gracious deity that he granted a place in his heaven to the lowliest, and even to the demons and their king, whom he slew. Therefore, whatever might befall one in approaching other deities for help, one could be sure of receiving favour at the hands of such a deity as Rama. Considerations such as these must have been operative and powerful in influencing the thought and conduct of Tulasi as he contemplated the character of his hero-deity. Evidences of this are to be found in all his reputed writings.

In addition, the story of such a deity, as told and written by Tulasi, must have exercised a powerful influence over the masses of the people of North India. Otherwise Tulasi's Ramayan would not have acquired so early and widespread a popularity as came to it quickly. To others also, more contemplative and spiritually-minded, the gracious and unselfish Rama must have stood out in

striking contrast to the crude and often obscene worship of local cults; and also to have met real and deep needs in their lives which remained unmet, either by the growingly speculative character of the ascetic way with its Advaita philosophy, or the widely prevalent erotic worship of the Radha-Krishna bhakti development.

In view of the unwholesome influences of this latter worship, as well as of certain phases of speculative philosophy, which are still so widespread in certain areas, it is difficult to over-estimate the extent to which Tulasi Das has lifted the life of the masses of Upper India to an appreciation of the finer and nobler elements of character. It is no less than a scholar like Sir Geo. Grierson, who in referring to what Tulasi Das has rendered to North India (2), states that he believes Tulasi's service accounts "in great measure for the marked difference between the two nationalities. The people of Hindostan (i. e. the portion called Upper India) acknowledge the rule, not of a relentless fate, but of a god who knows and loves each one of his worshippers."

We turn now to the final task which is to be attempted in this chapter: to set down certain conclusions, which grow naturally out of such a study.

Obviously, the first question to arise would concern itself with the future of this bhakti complex of religious habits and attitudes towards the deity, Rama. Down to the present this bhakti relationship to Rama continues in great vogue in North India. Hence, it still possesses real uplifting power in the life of multitudes, especially of the Hindi-speaking peoples of North India. Each year multitudes, especially from among those representing the better elements of Hindu life, attend what is called the Ramlila festival where the scenes from the Ramayan are acted out on a great outdoor, improvised stage. Those who witness these scenes from the varied and tragic episodes in the life-story of Rama and Sita experience something akin to a religious awakening or revival. The popularity of this Ramlila among all, and especially among the more high-minded of the Hindus, is in itself evidence of the uplift they experience as they gaze upon the life scenes, which are often well-acted, of the principal characters, who live and suffer, as it were, before their very eyes. The emotions are deeply stirred and doubtless new and higher resolutions are formed by many, under the stimulus of the moving experiences in the life of their hero-deity.

But how will it be when the story of Rama ceases to be taken as literal history ? At present the educated for the most part, as well as the ignorant, think of Rama just as he is pictured in Tulasi's work, rather than as a highly idealized character into whose life and outlook upon the world religious leaders and philosophers

alike have read from time to time the accumulated thought, beliefs and notions of centuries. Tulasi's Ramayan, as is the case also with Valmiki's work as well as with the Mahabharata, has become a great literary receptacle for stray bits of primitive notions, religious beliefs and practices, belonging now to one and now to another of the three chief ways for the attainment of salvation, as well as religious and philosophical speculation, belonging now to one and now to another of the chief schools of thought in India. For example, Rama in one connection may be found talking as a Sankhya philosopher, in another as a Vedantist, or, in still another, as an adherent of the Yoga system of religious practice. In still others he is seen in the role of the qualityless Brahman, or again at the opposite extreme as a mere man, distressed and ignorant as to the whereabouts of his devoted spouse, Sita.

Who was the real Rama that lived in the long ago; and what was he like? He was certainly very different from the Rama, who appears in the pages of Tulasi's work. Evidences of this may be had from a study of the older portions of Valmiki's work and from the Rama portions of the Mahabharata. Rama undoubtedly represents an historical character, rather than a mere construct of the imagination. If he were the latter the character delineations would not be so clear and specific as they are from the very beginning. However, when historical criticism is really brought to bear upon a study of the Rama material and separates out the Rama that was from the Rama that he came to be when he became exalted to deity-hood, then distressful times will come to all those who now in deep sincerity and with serious-mindedness have regarded Tulasi's Ramayan as their sacred scriptures; and whose every word has been held as divine and authoritative. Then the corroding influences of doubt, if such worshippers would remain sincere, or the degrading influences of insincerity, if any such would pretend what he does not believe, will begin to play havoc in the inner lives of many who are now sincere followers of Rama. When once the leading ideas of any religious faith have become incredible or deeply disintegrated, those who hold that faith, may continue to observe its ancient practices, but it is not possible for such religious faith to exercise the old influence over their minds and hearts that it once did. That will be largely gone, never to return. The followers of Rama are approaching such times religiously.

There is another influence which has served indirectly, at least, to maintain the popularity of Rama among the thousands of those who worship him. It is belief in demons and in the reality of the demon-world. To a great many even among the educated today, as well as among the ignorant, the demons and the demon-world are terrible and ever-present realities. Only here and there,

even among the educated Hindus, will one be found who holds that the demons as well as their world have been man's creation. It is he who, ever since the long ago, has peopled his world with them. What a terrible fear is this of demons. Its enslaving power to mind and body alike is difficult to measure. When belief in demons and the demon-world fades out of the convictions of great masses of the Hindu people, as it is bound to do with the growth of the historical and social science disciplines, then one of the great reasons why Rama has presented such an appeal to the hearts of multitudes will have passed away. This process is already under way. Not long ago a prominent speaker, who is a Hindu, stated that Rama is not a deity suited to our times. Rama, he said, belongs rather to more primitive times when Hindus believed many things which they cannot now hold. Thus it is that corroding doubts about Rama are already at work making some Hindus at least feel that he is not a deity who can render to people the inner reinforcement of which they stand in need most in a modern world.

Hence, the world of that time and Rama also were very different from what is represented. But even if Rama did live in such a world and was the Rama who has been represented in this work of Tulasi, yet it is legitimate to raise the question seriously as to whether or not the world in which Rama lived is a normal one ? The Rama-world to which Tulasi introduces us is a world that is shot through and through with ascetic notions, with an ascetic temper of mind and outlook upon life and the world. In the Rama-world the true type of life is that of the ascetic, rather than that of the worthy man of the work-a-day world. Rama himself lived as an ascetic for fourteen years; and throughout the rest of his career as well as during his earlier years his was the ascetic temper of mind and outlook upon the world. He was the model ascetic. Moreover, in the world of Rama as well as in the heavens above and in the underworld of his times the really great ones were its ascetics. Even the deities in heaven required to be diligent in ascetic practices in order that they might maintain the heavenly seats which they had thereby won. In fact, it is not overstating the matter to state that a perusal of Tulasi's work leaves one with the impression that the whole universe of which Tulasi gives us glimpses is one constructed and fitted for *ascetic* uses. All this makes it obvious that those who wrought this Rama material into shape, as we now have it, were men with the ascetic temper of mind and outlook upon life and the world. Their own world in which they lived and did their thinking was such a world. Hence, they made the world of Rama like unto it. Indeed, how little of the great literature of India is there that is not the product of this same ascetic temper of mind, or that is untouched by it ?

However, one would be blind to facts did one fail to recognize the service which asceticism has rendered to the past of India's life. And just in this connection Dr. Farquhar has given us (3) such an admirable summary of what India of the past owes to the ascetic movement that one could not do better than quote rather fully therefrom:—

"When the monastic movement first appeared in India, it was the greatest intellectual and religious force of the time. It laid hold of all the noblest minds and ruled them: and for many centuries thereafter the highest spiritual life of the country found for itself in its discipline a sufficient, a satisfying expression. Nor need we wonder. Surely one cannot study this great old history without being struck with the splendid height and dignity of the aims of the movement and the seriousness of the men who took part in it. Only high ideals most earnestly pursued could have produced the lofty literature of monasticism, the Upanishads and the Buddhist Suttas. But if the principles were high and noble they were applied with a fearlessness, a devotion, a courage and a constancy to which there are very few parallels. As long as the world lasts, men will look back with wonder upon the ascetics of India. Their quiet surrender of every earthly privilege and pleasure, and their strong endurance of many forms of suffering will be an inspiration to all generations of thinking Indians. For nearly three thousand years the ascetics of India have stood forth, a speaking testimony to the supremacy of the spiritual. Whether men were willing to learn the truth or not, no one could shut his eyes to the object-lesson held up before India. The very fact of the existence of the order of sannyasis set material splendour and worldly pleasures in their proper place of complete subordination to the spiritual. Further, the life of the sannyasi has dignified poverty in India....that a poor man is worthy of as much honour as a rich man."

Unfortunately, however, this is not the whole story of asceticism in India. The ascetic movement, on the other hand, has much to answer for. In the first place and in general the world of the ascetic is not a normal world. Moreover, his outlook upon the world is abnormal. For example, if all should become ascetics, then who would do the work of the world in creating the food supply to feed the hungry, or produce the clothing to clothe the naked? A manner of life, which, if all were to choose to follow it, would halt or break down the great processes of production, necessary to preserve and promote the life of the race, is not a normal type of life. Hence, wherever such a manner of life, or even attitudes towards such a life, is in the ascendancy among a race or a nation, then sooner or later deeply undesirable results eventuate. India has long suffered from an excess of the ascetic

temper of mind and outlook upon the world and life. Whenever asceticism is in the ascendancy, so that the ascetic becomes thought of as the only type of person that is to be regarded as the *model* religious person, then all, who through the exigencies of their situation are compelled to live their lives in the work-a-day world, are placed at a distinct discount religiously. Furthermore, in time this brings about the generally accepted notion that it is only the ascetic, who can be really religious. And what is still more undesirable: tendencies flow from this to make ascetics a religious aristocracy, who become a law unto themselves. Then, owing to the very nature of the ascetic's life his deity, like himself, becomes more and more remote not only from the common life of man, but even from the ascetic also, as we have seen in the Brahman-Atman speculative development. The evil results of such a development of practice and thought are obvious, and are all about us in India.

The sources that have given rise to and promoted this ascetic temper of mind and outlook, as found in India, lie deep in her religion and philosophy. Hence, it will cost her many a hard struggle before she will be able to deliver her soul from such influences. However, the most tragic weakness that lies at the root of *Indian* asceticism is that it makes renunciation of the world the "be all and the end all" of the ascetic's efforts, rather than a means—not the only one, however—whereby one may give oneself more fully to a life of self-sacrificing service for others. This phase of it has been succinctly set forth by Dr. Urquhart (4). "The principle of asceticism, when carried to an extreme, involves a reprehensible distrust of life.....We find the distrustful tendency permeating the whole philosophy of Maya. Practically the same spirit is evidenced in the self-mutilations of the Yogi and the 'one-pointed' contemplation of the mystic. In all these phases of thought and practice there is evident a tendency to spread renunciation to the whole of existence, to think that the world is altogether evil because it gives us the opportunity of doing evil, to wish to destroy all our human impulses because some of them are the occasions of temptation. The axe is laid to the root of a tree which would yet be capable of bearing fruit if only its unduly luxuriant branches were pruned."

The nemesis of this fundamental weakness in Indian asceticism is upon the movement in India to-day. To quote from Dr. Farquhar again, "the whole monastic movement of modern India is already in decay. Sadhus stand nearer the popular faith than the ancient orders did, but they cannot be said to wield great influence. Comparatively few men of culture and intellectual power enter the orders: and, while here and there men of real spirituality and beautiful character are found among them, and now and then a man of education and distinction becomes a sannyasi, Hindus

are forward to confess that most of the ascetics of to-day are of little worth. The man who is too lazy to work finds the holy life a paradise. The yellow robe is only too often used to hide the criminal. There is no living-thought movement among them. Most of them are ignorant men. Many use the Gita, the Hindi work, Vicharasagara, or some other philosophical manual; but more are content with the mantra and the symbols of their order. As the deeper ideas of the movememt have gradually been lost sight of, the spirit of pagan polytheism has re-asserted itself; and the ascetic life is more and more conceived as a sort of meritorious discipline which makes the man religiously holy, but has no connection with morality..... The sadhu is outside the modern movement altogether, a boulder left in our fertile valley by a moving glacier which has long ago spent itself. He is altogether out of touch and sympathy with the large questions and mighty activities which are agitating India to-day: Education, Social Reform, Religious Reform, Politics, Economic Progress. He knows nothing of them, or is opposed to them, like the temple Brahmans all over the land. He is quite unfit to lay his hand on any of the interests of our time. The men who really lead India to-day are in law, medicine, education, government service, journalism, business. The ideas which interest these men, the ideas which are creating the new India, are not the fundamental ideas of Hindu asceticism, and thus the sadhu knows nothing about them..... the sadhu is *inactive* while *self-sacrificing service* is what India needs to-day..... It is of the utmost importance to notice in being inactive the sadhu is absolutely true to the movement which has created him.....Thus the reason why the educated Hindu criticizes the ascetic is that his own mind is filled with new ideas.....Thus the ancient asceticism is doomed. Nothing can save it. The modern spirit demands something else, and the educated Hindu is the man through whom the new spirit is being disseminated in India."

"But the acknowledgement of this fact leaves us face to face with a gigantic problem. Hinduism has produced for quite two thousand five hundred years an unending procession of men and women ready to devote themselves, body and soul, to the highest; but, when they are produced, they are comparatively useless; for the mighty religion which inspires them to enter the ascetic life sets before them as their ideal the life of the actionless Brahman. But what India needs to-day is a great army of self-sacrificing men, ready to toil for the uplifting of the poor and the down-trodden, and for the advancement of education, agriculture, industry, art, morality, religion. What is needed is the man inspired to *living* service, not the yogi rapt in oblivious meditation."

"Thus the problem is, How are Hindus to be inspired to unselfish service? Clearly, it cannot be by any form of Hindu phil-

osophy; for that leads to inaction. Nor can there be any doubt that such inspiration can come only from religion. Where can we find a motive sufficient for the purpose ?"

"Whatever Hindus may think of Christianity, everyone acknowledges that it stirs men and women to unselfish service. It can and does produce men and women who toil for others. That Christ has been a ministering angel to India, no honest son of India will deny. Who will ever be able to measure the amount of service done to India by Christians along the following lines ? —education for boys, primary, secondary, university and industrial; education for girls in school, college and zenana; orphanages, widows' homes, education for the blind; medical relief by means of doctors (both men and women), nurses, dispensaries, hospitals; leper asylums; rescue homes for fallen women; famine relief; and, last of all, the uplifting of the depressed classes."

In view of all these facts how can one but feel convinced that the world of asceticism in which Rama lived is not a normal world ? Hence, it cannot abide as a world of thought and life that will long hold the religious faith and active interest of those who have begun to think and live in a modern world. The disciplinary values and the intellectual product of the ascetic movement may abide and be prized yet more wisely and truly than they are to-day. But the ascetic world of Rama is bound to pass away from the appreciations and the religious convictions of men. And when it does, it will never return. There is need, therefore, to prepare the multitudes of those who are now devoted to Rama for the great transition, lest, like others have often done in the past: they cast aside faith in religion itself.

This study has shown: that with the growth of the ascetic movement and the Brahman-Atman speculation—its corollary in the field of religious speculation—the Bhakti development came into prominence as a reaction to the over-intellectualization of religion, which the former promoted. The cry of Tulasi, voiced through the model bhakta, Bhusundi, that " the worship of the Impersonal laid no hold upon my heart " was one that expressed the heart hunger of thousands of his own as well as of previous generations. Otherwise, the Bhakti development would not have grown so rapidly or become as widespread as it did in the centuries preceding Tulasi, as well as during his own.

The remainder of this heart-cry, expressed through Bhusundi, was that he "had an overpowering devotion towards an incarnation of the Supreme (5) ". Such a longing has been voiced again and again through the centuries not only in India but also in other lands and continents.

What were the occasions that would tend to promote such notions and usages ? Was it due to something of the nature of

rationalizing processes that tended to remove the deities from man and to shake his certainty about them. If so, then would there not be a tendency for notions and usages to arise that would bring the god-world back again into the intimacies of man's life? This we do not know. But it certainly would not be strange if it had so happened. It was just in the barren speculative stages of the Brahman-Atman and ascetic developments when both the incarnation circle of ideas and also the use of images came into marked prominence in India's religious history (6).

It is significant that in such times the incarnation circle of ideas and practice comes into prominence. In such a situation there is a felt-need to bring the receding deity or deities back again into the affairs and haunts of men. The use of images and symbols of deity came into use undoubtedly *originally* to meet a similar need. It would appear that as far as India is concerned the incarnation circle of ideas in the beginning, both of its practice and thinking, was promoted by the use of popular heroes and local gods, such as Krishna and Rama. Imaginative constructs out of which attitudes towards a hero are built into the mind of an individual or a group pass easily and almost unconsciously over into those that are directed towards deity. The difference is largely one of direction. The attitude itself is largely the same.

In these earlier stages of man's religious development he has exhibited again and again this more or less pronounced tendency towards the use of something to represent what he conceived to be deity. The reason for this is not far to seek. It is found in the very character of man's inner life. One of the outstanding features of his inner life, which impresses one, is the conversational character of its on-going processes, whether those be of thinking, of direct or imaginative intercourse with some present or absent friend, or of communion with deity. To take, for example, the process of thinking. It will be found that there are always two individuals within one when the process of thinking is proceeding. One is talking while the other is listening. Then the latter becomes the speaker and the former the listener. In this manner the process of what we call "thinking a problem through" proceeds. But supposing we find that we are unable to think the problem through in the manner described, what are we likely to do next? How often it has occurred that the next procedure followed is social intercourse with a face-to-face friend, or what is often more probable: an imaginative conversation with some absent trusted friend, whom we feel will be able to help us in our problem. This time the conversation is with another and not with a part of one's inner self. This we call social intercourse. Supposing, however, that the problem, demanding solution, relates to some dark tragedy, or hidden aspiration which we feel no friend, not even our closest,

would understand, then what are we likely to do ? We talk it over with what we consider to be deity, do we not? This we call communion or prayer. The important fact, which it is desired to emphasize here, is that all this procedure of our inner life is an illustration of the conversational character of man's inner life. And what is more: this conversational feature seems so fundamental to the very structure of man's inner life that we do not seem to be able to get down to levels in our personality that are deeper than this communal character. The conversational process seems to be of the very stuff of which our inner life is built up. In fact, so long as man has sense-organs, especially those of touch and sight, and so long as the structure of his inner life continues conversational in its inmost character, that long we need not be surprised to find in him a more or less definite tendency to search out ways and means to bring deity *near* to himself, that he may be certain about the former's reality and character.

When does this conversational character of man's inner life begin to be built up ? So far as we are able to judge of this matter, it begins with the child when it starts to talk and to set up symbols for things in its child-world. The child talks aloud with its dollies, its blocks and with its whole child-world. It is building up unconsciously the conversational structure of its inner life. However, until such time as the child ceases to talk aloud to its child-world this whole process remains very largely an external one. Gradually, however, the change comes in making it an internal experience. There are some, however, who continue throughout life "to think aloud". This common characteristic in the life of all children, as well as of all men, is exceedingly suggestive in showing how much anyone's inner life has in common with all others, regardless of race, time or clime. This helps to make clear why all babies are so much alike. It is only later that the differences arise. And these are due primarily to the differing social inheritances with their differing traditional material in which the child becomes nurtured.

Furthermore, religion, whether primitive or modern, is the most moving experience in a man's life. It has most to do with his inner life, which, as we have just seen, has most in common with his fellows. Moreover, although religion is a growing experience, yet the great religious problems that have vexed the heart of man through the ages have also much in common. They have swung around three great problems as foci. First, is there really a deity and, if so, is he one who cares ? Second, what are we to think about evil and its relation to man and deity ? Third, has man the need and reason to hope for redemption from this evil ? It has been now one and now another of these great problems, which "the shocks of circumstance", whether to individual or to race,

have thrown up into the foreground of man's religious experience. These "shocks of circumstance" evoke questions and these latter press heaviest upon the inner life of man and demand an answer in times of great transition. These are times, for example, when any old and deeply rooted social order, with its related political, social and religious sanctions begins to break down, giving place to a new one. Then, if ever, uncertainties spring up in the life of man to vex him and make him unsure of the things in which he has long trusted without question. But the inner life of man cannot be nurtured long on uncertainties. An intimate and present deity in whom he can have confidence renders him what he needs in his deepest inner life. It is in this fundamental hunger for certainity, which is met in an imagined or real fellowship with deity, that the representation of deity has found its basis in man's inner life and has nurtured the practice of image-worship in its varied forms. The story both of image-worship and of the use of symbols for deity is a long and varied one in the religious history of the human race.

Although the origins of both image-worship and symbols of deity, as well as the incarnation circle of ideas, are as yet hidden in obscurity, this much at least is clear: neither of these arose during the most primitive stages of man's group life (7). In fact it was only after such groups had already attained a considerable degree of civilization. For example, the use of images and symbols of deity came into prominence after groups had acquired certain skills in the outward expression of their feelings and thoughts.

India's part in this story of image-worship is a long and difficult one to trace. The reasons for this are stated in an earlier chapter (8). This much, however, is clear that the Mahayana phase of the Buddhistic religious development had no inconsiderable share in promoting the early development of image-worship practice in India (9). This much also is clear: that this particular phase of Buddhism was in turn influenced deeply by Greek religious art.

Rama also, as has been indicated elsewhere (10), was a sharer in the practice of image or symbol-worship. In modern times much has been spoken and written in India in defence of this type of worship. However, from the character of the arguments and the defence presented for its justification it is obvious that a real genuine faith in this kind of worship has become deeply disintegrated. It is not characteristic of man to defend by long and often obviously specious arguments that in which he believes implicitly and profoundly. The obvious truth is that a deep faith in image and symbol worship is beginning to disintegrate, if not even pass away. In fact very few educated Hindus, even from among those who defend the practice, believe in it sincerely.

However, it would appear that no one of the arguments used in the defence of this worship has reached down to a recognition of how fundamental the conversational character of man's inner life is, and also the far-reaching implications of this fact in relation to the type of deity he must have to bring to the devotee an abiding conviction as to the reality and character of deity. The failure in general of both idolater and non-idolater to recognize the implications of this fundamental characteristic of man's inner life has hindered each from getting down to the fundamental reason why image and symbol-worship have exercised such a profound and long continued influence over the mind and spirit alike of both individuals and groups, where such practices have long been in vogue. Although Dr. Farquhar in his "Crown of Hinduism" has not referred to the psychology of idolatry, yet he has described with rare ability the attitudes of the great bhakti saints towards their chosen deities. These make it plain (11) "that the chief joy they received from idols was in seeing them daily, in asking for guidance from them, in hearing them speak, in rapturous dancing and singing before them, in receiving food and water from the god's table, and in the ecstasy of bhakti. The ordinary Hindu wants a temple near his home, that he may be able to see his god at any moment, to make him an offering of food, to ask for his help in distress or in danger, to pour out his heart in prayer or in praise. It is the living, present god that the human heart adores with rapture and gratitude. This is the reason for the limitless multiplication of temples, for the idols of the home and the little shrines by the roadside. The Hindu must have a living god to turn to wherever he is".

This attitude of bhakti towards the image or symbol, which has been delineated with such rare skill by Dr. Farquhar, has not been appraised at its real and priceless value. This has been due largely to the fact that the rich spiritual wealth of this sincere bhakti attitude has been expended so often in India in the worship of some image or symbol of deity, which to the non-idolater is often not only crude but sometimes even obscene and hideous. The latter, however, has not been nurtured from childhood in a social inheritance, that carries this practice as a part of its traditional material. Hence, the feeling-tone that suffuses the latter's mind as he observes a devout soul bowing before an image or a symbol is one of disgust, rather than otherwise. Hence, for such an one it is not only practically impossible to sense the feeling-tone of the worshipper before the image or symbol, but in addition it is exceedingly difficult for him to disassociate the deep and sincere attitude of devotion of the worshipper from the image and appraise the former quite apart from the latter. Yet this is what must be done and unless and until it is done full justice cannot be done

to the soul's wealth of devotion of anyone who bows in deep sincerity of heart before an image or symbol of conceived-of deity. To the non-idolater-observer the thing that stands out in his mind and "shocks" him is the image before which the worshipper bows, rather than the worshipper's devotion. This "shock" experience releases more or less feeling in the mind of the observer, which in turn inhibits his recognition of the significance of the attitude of sincere devotion, apart from the object upon which it is expended. Then, on the other hand, the worshipper of images and the symbols of his deity has integrated in his experience his attitudes of devotion towards deity so deeply with something that is intimately connected with some one or other of his sense-organs. Hence, it is exceedingly difficult for him, on the other hand, to enter into the experience of worship without merging in his mind this experience with some tangible object that has come down to him through the traditional sanctions in his social inheritance. This is why, as has been indicated already, this type of worship is ultimately so enslaving to the mind and spirit, both of individuals and of groups.

There is great need that someone should write a psychology of idolatry. This would aid greatly in the first place in promoting a real understanding as to why this practice in worship has exercised such a long and powerful influence in the religious experience of man. This is greatly needed by the non-idolater. This should not be taken to mean that he would have a less compromising attitude to such a practice. But it would create a more intelligent attitude towards and some real appreciation of the significance of image and symbol-worship in the religious experience of man. For it must be confessed that hitherto the attitude of the non-idolater generally, such as is exhibited in the Jew, the Christian and the Mohammedan, while it has been robust and sincere, has not been marked by an appreciation of the *original* significance of image and symbol-worship as a struggle of the heart and mind of man to bring deity near to himself and make such intimate with his daily life, so that man might be sure of deity and of his character. To the non-idolater for the most part image and symbol-worship have been regarded as an invention of the devil, or of some demon-power. Hence, it has been the object of his stern and almost ruthless denunciation. Such an attitude, which is always suffused with feeling, inhibits an appraisal of this type of worship, such as has been suggested above. But this must be done before we can set down a just appraisal of the original significance of such worship.

Then, on the other hand, a psychological study of idolatry would discover for the one who practises such a worship the distinction between his devout attitude of sincere worship and the

object towards which he directs it. It would do more. It would raise in his mind the whole problem of the object and its needed worthiness in order to be worthy of and to continue to evoke this attitude of sincere worship on the part of the worshipper. In brief, it would render impossible any sincere worship of images or symbols as representative of deity. Hence, there is great need that someone well qualified should attempt such a task.

In the meantime and in spite of its defenders, the worship of images and symbols is dying out among educated Hindus. To quote again from Dr. Farquhar, (12) "the exigencies of the time will compel Indian leaders to seek to destroy the practice among the common people. For the belief that every image is a living god, who is able to bless or curse, and that food, water, flowers, and every other thing that comes in contact with the image is charged with supernatural power, is the chief source of the limitless mass of superstitions under which the Hindu people live enslaved. Two things at least are necessary if a vigorous people is to be built up in India: the villager must be set free from superstition and he must be educated. Idolatry is thus one of the chief hindrances to the progress of India. The clear-sighted patriot will do his utmost to wean the simple villager from idols.....Therefore, educated men, who themselves already emancipated from idols, ought at once to turn to the task of setting the people free from their superstitions. But how? Man has his clamant religious needs. History brings us face to face with this most solemn fact, that, if these needs are not fulfilled spiritually, they seek satisfaction in the grossness of idolatry. One writer proposes to cleanse the temples from idols and use them as schools for religious instruction. But that will not prevent the reappearance of idols. We must find a spiritual force as vivid and as real as idolatry, and as fully charged with religious emotion, a spiritual dynamic which will render idols obsolete by appealing as successfully as they do, and yet in healthy spiritual fashion, to the religious imagination and feeling....It is one of the marvels of Christ that he is able to make such an appeal and to make it effectively; so that the man who has been used to the accessibility of idols and the joy and passion of their worship finds in him, in purest spiritual form, more than all the emotion and stimulus to reverent adoration which their vividness used to bring him."

"There is the richest devotional life and the most living worship in Christianity without idols, because Christ takes their place. In him the purest spiritual monotheism rises to the highest joy and adoring veneration; so that the full range of man's religious faculties find exercise and expression, but in noblest, truest forms, altogether apart from the degrading superstitions of idolatry.

"Idolatry has proved its power not only by its mastery over the nations but by creating architecture and sculpture. One of the clearest proofs that Christ has completely taken the place of idols is this, that in Judaism and Mohammedanism, the other two faiths which condemn idolatry, the consciousness of the danger and the fascination of idols is so great that the faithful are forbidden to make statues and other representations of men and animals, lest they should be drawn to worship them, while Christians, by their knowledge of God in Jesus Christ, are set completely free from this terror, and are therefore able to use sculpture and painting with perfect freedom. Christianity, so far from standing in the way of art, has stimulated architecture, sculpture, painting and music to the utmost. This is precisely what India needs, a pure spiritual worship to set her free from the need of idols. We shall therefore, do well to ask how Christ satisfies the instincts which in so many lands have found satisfaction in idolatry."

It remains now to point out the part that the incarnation circle of ideas is suited to render in bringing deity near to man and intimate with the latter's world. Regarding incarnation notions, Archbishop Söderblom (13) holds that this idea in its proper sense seems to have originated in Egypt. Then, through the medium of Hellenism it attained its highest form of thought in Christianity and heterodox Islam. Is there any historical connection between this early development in Egypt and that of India? Is the real explanation, on the other hand, primarily psychological, in which man, wrestling with similar problems in a period of religious transition, wrought out a pattern of practice and thought that has much in common with what others have done in fundamentally similar religious conditions? Originally, scholars would have given scant consideration to such a probable explanation. However, what we are concerned with just here is primarily not an effort to trace the probable historical connections between the Egyptian and Indian incarnation-notion developments, but rather to indicate the situation in which ideas and practices come into prominence, such as are found in the incarnation development. Furthermore, they emerge into prominence because they undoubtedly minister more or less definitely to some deep need in man's inner life and thought at such times.

However, although both the incarnation circle of ideas and the use of images and varied symbols for deity seem to have come into use in the service of the inner life of man at certain definite stages in his group's religious development in some such way as has been indicated above, yet the former is more intimately connected with what are predominantly imaginative constructs, such as mental images, rather than the latter. These latter, on the other hand, have their most intimate connections with habits and attitudes

of worship that are registered primarily in the nerves of the sense-organs; and hence, habits and attitudes, thus formed, are enslaving as well as difficult for individuals as well as groups to free themselves from; and, this too, after any such may have obtained even a degree of intellectual freedom from such notions. While it is true that the materials for the construction of images that are mental, because they are created from within, are taken from man's experiential world, yet man uses these materials to create something quite new—an imaginative-construct—into which he puts more or less of himself. Hence, all the mental images, so formed, are much more within man's own control. They are much more plastic and modifiable with the growth of man's experience and thought than is the case with habits and attitudes of worship that are linked up primarily with some one or other of the sense-organs. In time these latter are sure to prove a bondage to mind and spirit, rather than otherwise. In this psychological fact lies the tragedy as well as the enslavement of mind and spirit that come from image-worship, or the worship of anything which is capable of being experienced by one or more of the sense-organs, and which is meant to symbolize deity.

Thus it becomes possible for incarnation notions to be modified unconsciously and in keeping with man's expanding knowledge. This deeply significant psychological fact makes plain how it is possible for the incarnation-technique to remain long in the service of man religiously, as a means of interpreting deity in intellectually and religiously satisfying ways long after any image or symbol, perceptible to one or other of the sense-organs, has ceased to render him a similar service. The image or symbol, because it is an object of sense-perception, is capable of very little if any modifiability in the religious habits, attitudes and notions of man, whereas the incarnation circle of ideas, being primarily a construct of the imagination, is capable of almost indefinite refinement and extension. This latter fact is a matter of common observation wherever some form or other of the incarnation doctrine has been brought into service as interpretative-technique in giving man an awareness of and a confidence in the nearness of a deity, who cares for his devotees at least. Hence, it is not strange that among many other races, besides those of India, some type or other of this incarnation-technique has been a religiously satisfying and hence an efficent means in enabling man to think and to feel assured of both the nearness as well as the integration of deity in the midst of his life. It enables the latter to feel that deity is one who really cares as well as one who is at home in the intimacies of human life and its daily needs. However, it is legitimate to raise the question as to whether or not the incarnation-technique is likely to continue, as in the past and to a large extent even in the present, intellectually

and religiously satisfying in interpreting the nearness and the care of deity for man's highest welfare. Will it also pass away as the image and symbol, as interpretative-technique of deity are being retired rapidly now wherever people have become sufficiently objective in their thinking to be able to turn back and criticize the tools whereby they interpret deity both to themselves and to others? In the past there were those, who, like Kabir, would have none of the notions of incarnation. Was this due to his early religious nurture? There are such also to-day, who do not find this circle of ideas intellectually or religiously satisfying in giving assurance either as to the nearness or reality of deity. Moreover, we need not be surprised to find that this is a growing conviction among many of the more serious-minded to-day. However, this is not to be interpreted as implying that the setting aside of any or all of the current incarnation doctrines, whether non-Christian or Christian, means therefore or necessarily setting aside also either the truth or the conviction about deity coming into human life to give a deep and abiding assurance to the mind and heart of man as to the reality, character and nearness of deity to the life and daily needs of mankind. Just as it does not follow necessarily that the setting aside of any or all of the current theories of the Atonement means therefore either rejecting the truth or setting aside the deep abiding conviction that Jesus is Saviour, so it does not necessarily follow that a rejection of any or all incarnation doctrines implies also a setting aside of the great truth or deep assurance that deity has come into human life to reveal himself and redeem mankind. However, this is not the place to trace at length the implications of the general observation, just stated. What one is concerned with here primarily is a recognition of the fact that the incarnation circle of ideas is suited to render a profoundly significant and long continued service religiously and intellectually, as compared with that of the image or symbol of deity, in giving man an assurance of the nearness and graciousness of deity.

The conversational nature of man's psychic processes has an even more intimate connection with incarnation notions, rather than with image or symbol worship. According to Dr. Söderblom (14), incarnation in the strict sense is not to be found among primitive peoples. Among such, the men and animals worshipped are regarded either as divine or as actual deities, rather than as the incarnation of deities or demons. This is just what one would expect to find true. It is largely and in particular those races that are looked upon as child-races in general culture, among whom one is likely to find the *sincere* religious use of an image as deity. In India, however, many of its peoples, who cannot be said to belong any longer in the child-stage of general racial culture, continue to make use of images in their worship of deity. Reference

to the causes contributory to continuance of such practices has been made above. It remains to add here that any practice or notion that has come down through our social inheritance gets an advantage over us and becomes integrated in our habits, attitudes and uncriticized notions during the uncritical years of childhood and early youth. In later years and often with great difficulty are we able to become sufficiently objective in our thinking to arrive at a correct estimate of any practice or notion, such as has come down to us in our social inheritance. Hence, one finds persons who are partners in practices and notions, that do violence to their intellectual convictions. Herein then, may be found another of the fundamental reasons why many people of broad general culture, such as one may find in India to-day, continue the use of images in their worship of deity.

Yet it is from among such people that one is likely to find emerging sooner or later such explanations and also efforts that seek to justify the use of images and image-worship. Such efforts furnish clear evidence that sincere belief in the image is suffering from deterioration and the corroding influences of doubt. For example, image-worship is justified to-day on the basis that the image is not the deity, but rather an aid in the worship of deity. But such an explanation is clearly contrary to the Hindu scriptures, which teach that after the installation ceremony the image actually becomes the deity and is to be worshipped as such. Then again, image-worship, it is held, is justified from the fact that deity is everywhere. Hence, deity is in the image. But if we are to take such an argument at its face value, then we ought to worship *everything* rather than limit our worship to certain objects. However, the fact is that this also is a modern explanation, and an effort to justify an ancient practice at the bar of to-day's intellectual judgment. All such explanations and efforts at justification are symptomatic. They are clear evidence that sincere faith in the image and in image-worship has begun to suffer from the canker of doubt. Hence, all such explanations are at best merely brief halting places in an effort to justify image-worship. Under such conditions, therefore, image-worship, except among the ignorant whose worship for the most part is sincere, tends more and more to become an outward form from which the old sincerity has departed never to return. To the extent that sincerity departs from any type of worship to that extent it ceases to exercise an influence over the lives of all, who perform such worship.

So far as one may be able to judge of the matter, the incarnation circle of ideas made its appearance quite suddenly in India's religious history. However such a phenomenon may be interpreted, this much at least is clear: it answered undoubtedly to some deep need of the human spirit at a time when religious speculation was

engaged in retiring deity to the status of a qualityless Brahman. The influence of this doctrine grew greatly, especially as it is represented in the Bhagavadgita. It became attached to a wide range of religious interests and objects. Old stories from the Vedas and the Brahmanas were laid under tribute in the creation of incarnations of deity. Some of these were part animal in form. Faith in such as incarnations of deity is fast disappearing. More and more to-day such stories are being taken as mythology. It is not possible for a modern man to think otherwise of them. Moreover, mediaeval India saw practically every outstanding Vaishnava leader set forth as an incarnaton of either one or other of Vishnu's retinue or of his symbols. Religious groups even, whose tenets did not admit legitimately of such a doctrine, were nevertheless brought within the circle of its modifying influence. The widespread prevalence of this doctrine becomes all the more remarkable when one recalls the fact that India's dominant philosophy is such that it does not admit of a real incarnation doctrine. Such is legitimate and seriously motivated only where the reality of the universe is recognized and proceeded upon. This is not possible with a doctrine of illusion, such as Maya. Hence, the incarnations of Krishna and Rama—the two which are seriously acknowledged to-day—have both become vitiated by the notion that this coming into human life on the part of deity is mere sport, rather than a seriously-motivated purpose in a world-process that has reality. However, the persistence of the incarnation doctrine in the face of such vitiating influences is eloquent testimony to the fact that the needs of the human heart are too deep and abiding to be obliterated by even so influential a philosophical system as the Vedantic is in India. It also bears witness to the fact that fundamantally there is something in the incarnation circle of ideas that answers to some deep need of the human spirit. Otherwise, the above facts are inexplicable.

Although both the story of Rama and the Bhagavadgita became popular early, yet the latter has no reference to the former. However, what is held to be an interpolated passage in Canto CXIX of the sixth book of Valmiki's work shows that the same type of thinking, as applied to Krishna, is accorded to Rama also. The latter is made equal to Vishnu, who in turn is Brahman. Hence in this poet's work Rama is seen in the process of development from a hero to the full incarnation of Vishnu, who is Brahman. In the older sections of the Valmiki work Rama is nothing more than a hero. But in the first book he has risen to be an incarnation of half Vishnu's energy, while, in the sixth, Vishnu is *fully* incarnated in him. This third exaltation of Rama receives still greater elaboration in Tulasi's work. This latter writer emphasizes continually that Rama, the Supreme, is full of love and graciousness. Hence, he cares for his own with all tenderness.

Thus before our very eyes, as it were, Rama grows from being a mere hero into the qualityless Brahman. Although this process is not so clear in the case of Krishna, yet there can be little doubt but what it proceeded upon similar general lines. After a study of the incarnation circle of ideas, current in India, Dr. Farquhar (15) states "since every single Hindu incarnation is altogether mythical, the doctrine is dying, and will inevitably pass away. The changes it has undergone in the educated mind during the last half century are symptoms of its dying condition.....Nor can the patriotic Hindu wish the doctrine to survive. He cannot desire that the poor of the people should be fed with mythology. A strong Indian nation can never be built on such diet."

There is another important consideration, connected with India's incarnation doctrines. It deserves at least a passing reference. It is the *unreal* human life that the incarnate deity assumes when entering into the life of humanity. The human nature, for example, in which the deity becomes incarnate is a mere "make-believe." Although the deity may behave like a human, yet it is all *mere acting*. All that Tulasi makes Rama do, for instance, is mere sport. Like an actor in a theatre Rama imitates the joys and sorrows, experienced by mortals. Tulasi states (16) that for the sake of his devotees "the very God, our lord Rama, has become incarnate as a king and for our supreme sanctification has lived as it were the life of any ordinary man. As an actor in the course of his performances he assumes a variety of dresses and exhibits different characters, but himself remains the same; such Garur, is Rama's diversion, which is a source of bewilderment to the demons, but a delight to the faithful." When one turns to compare this feature of Rama's life with that of Jesus, one is aware at once that he is in a very different atmosphere of thought. How *unlike* an actor in a play was Jesus. Throughout his life among men he exhibited a normal human nature. With it, was no "make-believe." He was tested "in all points like as we are." He lived the life of our common humanity, knowing the pinch of hunger, the pains of intense thirst and the weariness of fatigue, such as is the lot of mortals. All this has far-reaching implications. The point we wish to emphasize in this connection is: that the way Jesus lived among his fellows and with God is to be regarded as the goal and ideal for all true living. But with Rama, on the other hand, it is quite different. Tulasi never once suggests that Rama is to be regarded as a model for mortals. He is rather to be regarded as in a class by himself and mortals are not to think of imitating his life (17). However, in spite of this which is supposed to be the "correct form" for mortals in relation to Rama, yet the latter's life has exercised a powerful influence for good.

The unreal human nature in which the incarnate deity lives while on earth leads one to set down another general conclusion, resulting from this study. It is the abnormal manner in which human nature is regarded. Reference has been made already in a general way to this abnormal outlook on human life. It remains now to deal with some of the more specific results that are the outcome of such a general attitude. For example, the very structure of man's body and inner life is such that it calls for activity. This is the message which his muscles and neurones shout at him almost daily. This is implied also in the conversational character of his inner life. James (18) in referring to certain developments of thought, states that "too much questioning and too little active responsibility lead...to the edge of the abyss at the bottom of which lie pessimism and the nightmare and suicidal view of life." Yet in the background of all of Tulasi's presuppositions regarding human nature stands the inactive and anti-social ascetic; and his deity, like unto him, is actionless and qualityless.

But this is not all. Such a type of life tends to take one or the other of two different directions. On the one hand, it may lead to an excess of contemplation and meditation that rarely, if ever, issues in any wholesome activity. This latter, however, is the absolutely necessary outcome of contemplation. Or, on the other hand, and as a reaction to the over-intellectualization of religion, there results an excess of emotional intoxication, as is seen in the trance experience and in certain phases of bhakti; and to which reference has been made in earlier chapters. Both of these types have arisen and been promoted by the widely prevalent abnormal outlook upon human nature and life in general. The former, as stated by Dr. Urquhart (19) results in "a religious view of the world which is based mainly on the intellect." As a result, this kind of a religious life is possible only for the select few. "The effect of this narrowness upon those who are outside the privileged classes must be to make them feel that they are forever excluded from the highest state of blessedness; and the effect upon those who are within the charmed circle of the *illuminati*—or at least, upon the noblest souls among them—will be to create a feeling of depression at the thought of the many for whom the privileges they themselves enjoy are impossible."

"When again we consider the internal disabilities of the intellect as it is exclusively relied upon and developed at the expense of the other faculties of human nature, certain additional pessimistic consequences become evident. Pure intellect has always a tendency to abstraction. It encourages us to think that the more general is the real and therefore the more important. It thus turns away our attention from the particularity of the universe and of ourselves. There is not sufficient basis for the assertion of our own individ-

uality. All emphasis is laid upon identity, and the consequence is that we begin to regard our experience as the experience of God. Our thought may move in the direction of still greater abstraction. The idea of God in whom we are to be absorbed becomes, in the negative movement of thought, extremely vague, and in order to reach identity the content of the human individuality is also eviserated. We become wholly lost in the abstract intelligence of God. Or, if our thought moves rather in the direction of breadth—to use a spatial metaphor—and we still think of the experience of God and our experience as forming *one* experience, we shall have great difficulty in escaping mechanism and necessity. Our experience and that of God form as it were 'one block.'.....We are fixed within this block according to mathematical and physical relations. No importance is attached to the uniqueness of personality, and our connection with our universe is interpreted almost entirely quantitatively. Intellectualism lands us in pretty much the same position as mere naturalism."

"And yet the intellect which, despises the co-operation of the other parts of our nature is attempting an impossible task and courting disaster.....The emotions will demand satisfaction, and, if they cannot obtain it under the guidance of the intellect, they will disregard its restraint and give themselves up to the play of extravagant sentiment. If the intellect refuses to take the help of the conception of human activity in its explanation of the problems of the world, it will find itself unable to deal with them and will be condemned to practical hopelessness."

Then the swing of the pendulum to the other extreme begins and the second type comes into prominence. "The impotence of the intellect," to quote further from Dr. Urquhart, "had been discovered, and so the emotions disowned it entirely. The understanding had not brought the worshippers into contact with any object by which their affections could be held, and so they dispensed with the control of the object altogether and allowed their imagination to guide their emotions in any wayward direction..... But in such a religion of feeling there is no permanent security for the human soul. For moods of exaltation we have to pay heavily and frequently by moods of depression, and, after repeated experiences of this alteration, even the moods of exaltation are darkened by the consciousness that soon they will have to give place to their opposite. In order to avoid this reaction we require that the intellect.....should abandon its pretensions to exclusive action and should transform itself that the constructions which it evolves should be of a character to allow of a natural outgoing of our emotions towards them."

Thus it was that undesirable results followed, whether on the one hand a type developed that intellectualized religion just as

though the intellect were the *all* of human nature, or, on the other, an opposite type developed that so emotionalized religion as though our human nature were *all* emotion. Hence, both of these typical outlooks upon human nature, which have been dominant as features of India's religious development, are partial and consequently abnormal in that neither the one nor the other takes cognizance of the *whole* of human experience. For example, the structure of man's body and the conversational character of his inner life all point to activity. Furthermore, in view of the needy world in which man lives, this activity ought to be serviceable to the extent even of being utterly self-sacrificial in its character. Yet this ascetic development in India has proceeded upon and gets its significance from the presupposition that all these bodily powers and activity-issuing features of the inner life of man are not only to be dethroned, but even eliminated from his life.

The ascetic spirit, moreover, is essentially a backward-looking one. It, for the most part, is one that has erected some one or other of a past social and religious order as the ideal one. In order to actualize this, primarily in his own life, the ascetic flees from the society of his own day, or else lives in more or less open revolt with its standardized practices and beliefs. This latter is the case also with the reformer. But he does it with a view to fulfilling an ideal which in his mind is held to be better than anything that has been achieved as yet in any social group. Although in the practice and convictions of reformer and ascetic alike there are elements that are more or less kin, yet the outlook of each upon life is widely different. That of the ascetic is *backward* to an order of society long past, which is supposed by him to be ideal. On the other hand, the outlook of the man with a reforming spirit is *forward* to an order of society that has not yet been realized. The ascetic flees from the world because he *has no programme* for its betterment. He is in despair regarding the present social order from which he has fled. But the reformer *has* a programme for its betterment. He, unlike the ascetic, is not in despair regarding not only the possibilities but also the necessity for the betterment of the present order in the midst of which he lives and labours. His confidence in this programme is so deep and compelling that he is ready to suffer, and even to give his life for the bringing in of that better order. His outlook is essentially self-sacrificial. This is the outlook of Jesus. He has a programme for world-betterment. He calls it the "Kingdom of God". In his great prayer he prays "thy kingdom *come*" Where does Jesus want it to come, if not in this world ? Were it otherwise he would not have prayed that it might "come" (in order) "that thy will may be done on earth as it is in heaven" Hence, as is stated by Pfleiderer (20), "the Christian view of the world proves itself to be the true view by the fact that it combines the highest idealism,

belief in the world-governing power of the good, with common-sense realism which sees the world as it actually is. The Christian's attitude to reality is always to a certain extent critical and polemical, because it measures it by his ideal, and he cannot overlook the distance between the reality and what ought to be. But, with all this, for him it is not less firmly established that the world in spite of all its imperfections, is the work of God, the object of the redeeming love, the place of the coming kingdom"—in other words, Jesus' Kingdom of God.

But the outlook of the Indian ascetic upon human nature and life is such that, instead of promoting in all such an "at-homeness" with his fellows in society and with the universe, it cultivates and places a premium upon aloofness from society and from the necessary ongoings of the ordinary world. This desire for "at-homeness" with one's fellows and with one's world is an enlarging and wholesome human experience whereby one's personality has opened up to it incalculable possibilities for enrichment and breadth of sympathy. But, according to the speculative phases of India's ascetic development, it follows that if deity is the sole reality, then the *more* personality one possesses the more he becomes removed from deity. One result of this is to create an aristocratic ascetic group and a deity alike in aloofness from the life and interests of men. Yet religion is needed by all. Hence, it ought to be set in the very heart of humanity's every-day life. It is in every-day life and in its problems where real religion is most needed. There is where the masses of men have always lived. And what is more : there is where such will continue to live.

It is a matter of ordinary observation that if one's personality is to be kept wholesome and expanding, thinking must eventuate in activity. This mutual relationship is absolutely essential. Furthermore, each of these processes must be as means to an end *beyond* rather than within itself in order that each might be kept in control and in alliance with this desire for "at-homeness" with one's fellows and the universe. When high thinking and activity are thus allied this desire for "at-homeness" will be promoted. Such an outlook on human nature and the world will seek cooperation with others in the conquest of human nature and the world in the interests of the good, because human nature and the world will be seen to have relation to reality, and, therefore, to have spiritual significance. A normal view of human nature is one that will always hold within its purview the *whole* rather than a mere section of human experience. India's thinking and the types of religious life which have been promoted thereby are almost entirely the product of the ascetic temper of mind and outlook upon life. This latter, however, is abnormal in that it does not take in the whole of human experience. Such an outlook issues in making abnormal demands upon human

nature and certainly this has been the history of the ascetic movement and its major influences. However, when such fail to bring satisfaction to the deepest in man's personality, as India's religious developments have again and again shown, then disappointment, doubt and pessimism ensue.

Any outlook upon life and the world that would aspire to be the norm for self and for others ought to be many-sided. An outlook on life that takes cognizance of only one side of human life, whether it be that of pleasure or of pain, cannot but be more or less disintegrating and inimical to fundamental elements in man's personality. Since Tulasi's day life has become deeply changed both in its variety and in its interests. Moreover, this is certain to continue. Hence, the fullness of life and its many-sidedness leave little or no room for the narrowness of a view that degrades some one or other of the normal functions of human nature, and, in so doing, violates fundamental characteristics of man's inner life.

And this brings one to state still another conclusion. It is that any outlook upon human nature and life that discounts or ignores the priceless worth of human personality, and the need both for conserving and enhancing it will be deficient also in its conception of the salvation of which man stands in need fundamentally.

Personality, which has been truly called the "home of all our values" (21), is also the centre of our deepest needs. In its most fundamental characteristic it is conversational or communal. So far as one may be able to judge as yet, this inmost life is built up out of these communal experiences. Moreover, the continuance of this communal experience, as well as the activity-reactions resulting therefrom, are necessary that man's personality-needs may be met. Anything that interferes with or imperils the reality and continuance of these inmost experiences disturbs more or less deeply one's assurances, hopes and the "sense of oughtness." Hence, it follows that this communal feature of our personality demands a personal deity. Furthermore, when one turns to view India's religious experience in the large it bears witness to this deep necessity in man's nature. Her religious experience throughout the centuries exhibits a consistent demand for a deity that can be thought of and worshipped as personal. The history of Jainism and Buddhism, as well as the whole development of Vaishnavism, furnish a commentary on this fundamental need of the human heart.

It follows also that any salvation, worthy to be so designated, must have relation primarily to these inmost needs of man's personality, rather than with anything that is largely material and external to this inmost life. This deepest need is for a great companionship, that is inspiring and altogether worthy. Our personality requires this above all else. It is necessary, for example, in order that we

may become aware of and hate our own moral and spiritual ignorance and weaknesses. It is needed also that such noble aspirations as lie hidden within our own lives may awake and be fostered continually by such a companionship. The many needy tasks and "shocks of circumstance" in the world also make such an inspiring companionship absolutely necessary that man have those inner resources of the spirit for his times of temptation and trial, and for those other times when he needs to walk steadily and surely through the perplexing mazes of this world's life.

In the light of this fundamental need, as indicated above, it becomes necessary to inquire as to the extent that India's religious developments have recognized these needs and sought to meet them. It is only in the bhakti religious development that one finds even a slight recognition of these needs of personality. We have seen how that the salvation offered in the Vedic scriptures was primarily one that sought deliverance for its worshippers from temporal disabilities and calamities. While in Vedantic thought personality is the one great undesirable to be suppressed and eliminated from life by means of world-flight. But as Dr. Urquhart points out (22), "to deny the world" is not to effect the solution of the problem. It is rather to run away from it. But in relation to the specific point now being considered it is "to deprive man of the freedom and the hope of permanence,.....is to do violence to his nature. We require a conception of God which will preserve the reality of the world, take full account of the pain and evil that are in it, and yet hold out the hope of progress both for the world and for the individuals in it, allowing man to regain the freedom and the value of his personality throughout all the stages of the process and even in the ultimate consummation." But this is just what the Vedantic thought does not do. It places a permanent discredit upon personality. Hence, it is quite impossible for such a system of religious thinking and practice to minister to the *whole* of human experience.

This need of personality for intercourse with deity becomes insistent especially in times of individual or group crises, such as when the "shocks of circumstance" are experienced, in periods of great religious transition. It is not without deep significance that in the very period when the Brahman-Atman speculative development had removed the Supreme beyond all human thought and petition, the practice of image-worship and the incarnation circle of notions came into great vogue in India. In fact what are image-worship and the incarnation-ideas fundamentally but a response, crude and hideous though some of the representations may be, to the deep felt-needs of personality for intercourse with deity—a deity that could be tangible, have human elements of character and hence, enable the worshipper to feel that his deity

is close at hand and a part of his daily life? Then again what is the manifestly deep sincerity of the ignorant worshipper who bows before the image of his deity but a witness to this same deep inner hunger for a communal life with near-by deity? His faith may become shattered at any time in his image or even incarnation-deity. But the need for an experiential life with deity is fundamental to man's personality. Hence, this need must be met. However, unless and until the deity is one altogether worthy to be worshipped, periods of scepticism are bound to recur again and again in the experience of man. His faith may be shattered in an image. But his heart hunger remains.

Bhakti and the religious roots out of which it sprang seem to be the only great religious development in India's religious history that has shown even slight regard for the needs and sanctities of personality. This bhakti attitude towards either a hero or any conceived-of incarnate deity is an enlarging experience to personality. But how will it be when one learns that the conceived-of deity is nothing but an ancient hero? In an earlier chapter (23) some of the main reasons have been noted as to why individuality or personality has been placed at such a discount thus far. Moreover, it is likely so to continue until India establishes a new basis for her religious life as well as her social order.

It is Tulasi's phase of bhakti with which we are concerned at present. Although he presents Rama as the object of communal experience, yet one cannot overlook the fact that there is much else that is wholly out of keeping with such a representation. For example, the name of Rama is much more effective than even Rama himself (24). There is neither a moral nor spiritual element to such an idea. It is magical pure and simple. Then again Tulasi informs us (25) that he reverences the whole range of deities, giants, men, serpents, birds, ghosts, departed ancestors, Gandharvas, Kinnars and the demons of the night. "I pray ye all" he writes "be gracious unto me". Rama came primarily to deliver from demons and from the temporal, not the inner and spiritual ills of life. But what religious significance can Rama have to those who no longer believe in the existence of demons? To all such the necessity for such a deity, as Rama is represented to be, shall have passed away. Then again, Tulasi represents Rama as teaching that the Brahman must always remain supreme and be reverenced regardless of what he may be in moral character (26). But how will it fare with the religious faith of a sincere devotee of Rama when he comes to know that the system of caste with perpetual supremacy given to the Brahman, is not a matter of divine sanction, handed down from Vedic times, but rather an outgrowth of a social situation in the creation of which man himself has had much to do? These are but a few of the many examples that might be given to make clear how

far Tulasi's way of salvation falls below a clear-cut spiritual faith, such as is absolutely necessary for the deepest needs of personality. Tulasi's message is one of accommodation rather than otherwise. Therefore, great as has been the uplift that has come to thousands in North India through this bhakti faith, yet as such it has not had the inner power to free Hinduism from her ancient polytheistic inheritance.

Hence, it can be only a question of time until all incarnation doctrines, based upon mythological stories, such as that of Rama's deityhood, will pass from the beliefs and interests of those who once held this faith. Man's faith in such doctrines may pass. Yet the hunger of the human heart for a personal and intimate deity, which Tulasi makes Bhusundi voice, will abide. This hunger must be met "for man cannot live by bread alone." So long as man remains man, and so long as this communal character remains fundamental to his inner life, that long will he stand in deepest need of a great and inspiring companionship for his inner life. This need can be met only by a deity, personal and altogether worthy. Such a companionship can continue with deity, concerning whom and in the presence of growing knowledge, the conviction not only abides but also grows that this Great Companion continues to have what we require to have shared with us and of which we stand in deepest need. With all such we also must needs share the best we have. This is implied in companionship. With all others, conceived-of as deity, with whom such a mutual inner reinforcement and companionship become unreal and a mere imaginative construct, such a companionship becomes corroded quickly and loses its reality.

One cannot close such a study in which we have been brought face to face with the significance of the earnest and heartfelt longing of Tulasi for a personal deity and which voices the sincere heart hunger of a vast multitude in this land, without adding a note on the significance of Jesus and the Christian view of God as exhibited in the life and teachings of Jesus in relation to this deepest inner need of the life of man. Jesus and the Christian view of God, as exhibited in Jesus, have been cluttered about with much theological speculation that has obscured greatly both Jesus and what he was concerned most with doing in relation both to God and humankind.

One of the striking facts about his life is that its depth and richness of inner power are far ahead of even our best to-day. In fact it is not possible to conceive of a richer and more noble type of life than his. Jesus has passed on far ahead of us in the character and power of his inner life. Although he was born and reared in a Jewish enviroment, yet his breadth and the inner richness of his life cannot be explained by his environment. Explain it by

whatsoever doctrines and theological speculation one may, the fact remains that it is his intimacy with God that explains Jesus. No lesser explanation meets all the facts. If it is fundamentally true, as the writer holds, that our personality is built up out of our communal experiences, then it means that Jesus' personality also grew by companionship. It is also profoundly true that man—all men—grow like the companionships they cultivate. Since we cannot explain Jesus adequately apart from this great companionship, lived with God, does it not follow clearly that the God, who is, must be like Jesus in character. Otherwise, Jesus would never have come to be what he is. The God whom we see revealed "in the face of Jesus Christ" is one altogether worthy and whom multitudes have found able to meet these deepest needs of man's inner life.

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